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DIPLOMOVÁ PRÁCE

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**LOKALIZACE VERZE D TEXTU „POEMA MORALE“
S VYUŽITÍM APLIKACE „LINGUISTIC ATLAS OF EARLY MIDDLE
ENGLISH“**

**LOCALISATION OF VERSION D OF „THE POEMA MORALE“
BASED ON „THE LINGUISTIC ATLAS OF EARLY MEDIEVAL
ENGLISH“**

Tímto bych chtěla poděkovat vedoucímu práce, profesoru Janu Čermákovi za odborné rady, trpělivost a přívětivé jednání. Dále bych chtěla poděkovat svému manželovi Jakubovi i celé své rodině, bez jejíž podpory by tato práce nemohla vzniknout. Děkuji i dalším lidem, kteří hlídali mé děti, zatímco jsem se věnovala studiu, jmenovitě Lubě M., Markétě V., Elizabeth A., Evě T., Anně P., Elišce P., Věře M. a Marii V.

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Souhlasím se zapůjčením diplomové práce ke studijním účelům.

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Abstract

The present MA thesis presents an analysis of version D of the Early Middle English verse sermon known as the *Poema Morale*. The objectives of the study were to verify the present localisation of D in Western Kent and clarify its relations to two more copies of the same text (T and M). The research consisted in analysing the language of the text in terms of its dialect and distinguishing between different layers of copying, where possible.

The analysis was performed using the electronic tool Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English, specific procedures included mainly analyses of maps showing the distribution of dialectal features found in D, which were complemented by discussions of forms which D shares with other Kentish texts or versions T and M. The aim of these discussions was the identification of words coming from the exemplar. Evidence supporting the localisation of D in Kent as well as forms presumably taken from the archetype were presented and put in the context of the results of previous studies.

Key words: Early Middle English, the *Poema Morale*, historical dialectology, dialect, exemplar, scribe, manuscript

Abstrakt

Diplomová práce se zabývá rozбором verze D raně středověkého textu známého pod názvem *Poema Morale*. Cílem studie bylo ověřit stávající lokalizaci verze D v západním Kentu a objasnit její vztah ke dvěma dalším opisům stejného díla (T a M). Výzkum spočíval v analýze jazyka textu z hlediska nářečí a rozlišování mezi různými vrstvami opisování tam, kde to bylo možné.

K rozboru byl využit elektronický nástroj Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English a konkrétní postupy zahrnovaly především tvorbu a analýzu map zobrazujících výskyt nářečních prvků v D, doplněnou o rozebrání forem, které má D společné buď s dalšími kentskými rukopisy nebo s verzemi T a M. Záměrem této druhé části rozboru byla identifikace slov zřejmě pocházejících z předlohy textu. Na závěr byly představeny důkazy ve prospěch současné lokalizace verze D i konkrétní formy, které pravděpodobně pocházejí z předlohy a obojí bylo uvedeno do souvislosti s výsledky předchozích studií.

Klíčová slova: raně středověká angličtina, *Poema Morale*, historická dialektologie, nářečí, exemplář, opisovatel, rukopis

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List of abbreviations

EME: Early Middle English

LAEME: Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English

LALME: Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English

ME: Middle English

MS: manuscript

OE: Old English

PM: Poema Morale

TH: Trinity Homilies

Version of the *Poema Morale*:

D: version of the *Poema Morale* in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 4

E: version of the *Poema Morale* in London, British Library, Egerton 613, entry 5

e: version of the *Poema Morale* in London, British Library, Egerton 613, entry 6

J: version of the *Poema Morale* in Oxford, Jesus College 29, part II

L: version of the *Poema Morale* in London, Lambeth Palace Library, Lambeth 487

M: version of the *Poema Morale* in Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean 123

T: version of the *Poema Morale* in Cambridge, Trinity College B.14.52

Other manuscripts:

Arundel: London, British Library, Arundel 57

Laud: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc 471, entry 2

Stowe(1/2): London, British Library, Stowe 34, entry 2 / 1

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¹ The basic map used to construct feature maps is a reproduction from the (1975, 1976) Ordnance Survey map of Great Britain, Crown copyright. The same map is used in the online interface of LAEME.

1 Introduction

The focus of the present thesis is the language of version D of the verse sermon known as the *Poema Morale*, which is one of the rare Early Middle English texts preserved in multiple copies. This study consists in an analysis of the text based on the electronic tool Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English (henceforth LAEME). The aim is to verify the present localisation of the text and explore its relations to two more versions of the same poem (M and T), distinguishing local forms from forms copied from the exemplar, where possible.

A secondary result of such analysis should be an explanation of the previously observed similarities between D and M, the locations of which are relatively distant from each other. The working hypothesis is that the copyist of D spoke a Kentish dialect but Kentish forms in the text are mixed with exemplar forms, which should be shared with the closely related version T.

Previous studies of the *Poema Morale* included localisation of the individual versions and construction of stemmata (tree diagrams) showing relations between them based on shared readings. The ambition of the present study is to bring together the analysis of the sermon's dialect with observations on possible connections between the different copies, bearing the older findings in mind and adding evidence available through the LAEME corpus. Ideally, the results of the research should also suggest something about the potential of LAEME for this kind of analysis.

2 Theoretical background

The theoretical chapter discusses four topics relevant to the present thesis. The initial part describes the first topic, a wider historical context, explaining its impact on the language in the period generally labelled Early Middle English. The introductory part is followed by the second topic, a presentation of the *Poema Morale* and its versions, followed by several short paragraphs about other manuscripts which are of special interest for the localisation of version D. The reason why the manuscripts are introduced at the beginning of the chapter is that subsequent sections include references to these texts. The third topic of the theoretical chapter is a characterisation of Early Middle English, mainly its dialects, spelling and phonology. The final topic deals with historical dialectology and some of its issues.

2.1 Historical context

Addressing the question of the delimitation of Early Middle English, Kohnen (2014) reminds the readers that some of the previous researchers considered the Norman Conquest (1066) to mark the beginning of Middle English and subsequently explains why this view is unacceptable. Still, the effects of the Norman Conquest played an important part in some of the developments which shaped the form of Middle English. The most prominent one is a rupture in the writing tradition resulting in marked differences between *written* English of the 11th century and that of the 13th (to be discussed further down). Accordingly, the term Early Middle English in the Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English (henceforth LAEME) refers to the English language in the period ca. 1150-1325 (Laing & Lass I, 2013:1.5.1)².

First of all, it should be stressed that the apparently sudden change in the written form of the language does not in fact reflect a similar change in spoken English. In order to understand how this interesting situation originated, we must look back to the pre-Conquest period. The crucial thing to realize is that Old English had a strong writing tradition with the West Saxon dialect dominating over the others and functioning as a “national standard”. Scribes were trained to write West Saxon and to use the more or less fixed “standard” spelling. After the Battle of Hastings in 1066, though it was not followed by an influx of French speakers shaping the development of spoken English, the situation among the upper social classes changed radically. The vast majority of English barons as well as bishops no longer spoke English but

^{2 2} In the case of this specific source only, two unconventional elements are used throughout the thesis. The number “I” stands for *Part I* of the *Introduction to LAEME*. Since this is an electronic source without pagination, subchapter numbers are used instead

Anglo-Norman, i.e. a variety of Norman French used in England. This means that while there was no intentional suppression of English as a language on the part of the nobility and higher clergy (Kohnen, 2014: 72; Davidson, 2011: 66), state administration simply had no use for it. French or Anglo-Norman became the prestigious language of the higher classes, although official documents were first issued in Latin with a strong admixture of Norman French (and at the very beginning also English) (Davidson, 2011: 70). Latin remained the language of religion and learning and it was extensively used in legal documents. Norse ceased to be written and Norse speakers gradually abandoned it. Thus, English temporarily disappeared from official texts, original composition in English declined and English writings from the post-Conquest period include mainly copies of Old English texts, which are either clearly OE or somewhat updated versions of OE but cannot be considered representative of ME (Laing & Lass I, 2013: 1.5.3). Davidson (2011) speaks about a decline of orthography rather than a decline of writing as such. He explains that the West Saxon tradition lost official support and was therefore unable to uphold the conservative orthographical standard (Davidson, 2011: 68).

When new writings in English began to appear the end of the 12th century, there was no longer a dominant dialect providing the “standard”. Consequently, scribes naturally used their own dialects, which led to a considerable dialectal diversification of ME writings. On top of that, they had no standard spelling which they could follow and had, for that reason, to rely on their own intuition when transforming spoken English into the written form. As a result, there are many different spellings for one word and the writings began to reflect spoken language much more faithfully than the texts from the Late Old English period. Likewise, some of the changes which affected spoken English many years before became manifest in writing. In fact, the scribes trained to use the unified West Saxon spelling preferred to observe the fixed rules, rendering the changes in the spoken forms undetectable. This description of the situation in EME would remain incomplete without adding that Anglo-Norman scribes introduced some innovations into the spelling system used in medieval England. This certainly contributed to its transformations: specific developments in the system of spelling are going to be described in detail in section 2.3.2 Middle English Graphics.

To summarize, Middle English is generally known for an extreme level of dialectal diversification and a striking lack of uniformity in the employed spelling systems, which, moreover, underwent radical changes under the influence of Anglo-Norman scribes. After 1200, however, the differences began to be slowly smoothed out due to the rising prestige of English and increased communication between people from different regions. Also, a standard based on London English began slowly to emerge. One of the factors contributing to greater

uniformity in the language was the popularity of pilgrimages. Speakers of different dialects met in coastal towns from where they sailed to the Holy Land. Since the death of Thomas a Becket, many pilgrims also travelled to Canterbury (Millward, 2012: 146). All the versions of the *Poema Morale* were copied roughly between the end of the 12th century and the beginning of the 14th. Thus, the decrease in dialect diversification should not have a profound effect on the texts, at least in the case of the earlier versions, including D.

2.2 The *Poema Morale*

The *Poema Morale* (henceforth *PM*) is sometimes called *A Moral Ode* and it was “renamed” *Conduct of Life* by Betty Hill (1977). Its conventional title is imprecise in that the text is in fact a verse sermon. An important implication of this is that it was intended to be read aloud. This specific purpose of the text presumably is one of the reasons why individual copyists may have decided to make certain modifications so that the text would be more suitable for the intended audience in the given region.

The sermon is written in the first person and the author is an unknown preacher. The preaching poet regrets that he has wasted his life in idleness and has not followed the path leading to heaven. He describes specific human sins and failures and contrasts them to the right behaviour which pleases God. He also tells the audience about God, His generosity and appreciation of good intentions and the effort to fulfil God’s will. Finally, the preaching poet speaks about Doomsday and the Last Judgement as well as the suffering in Hell, providing advice on how to lead a good Christian life and escape damnation.

The original version of the *PM* is lost, but the fact that the text survives in seven copies testifies to its once great popularity.

2.2.1 Manuscripts containing *The Poema Morale*

This section gives a brief overview of the seven versions of the *PM*. From this point onwards the individual versions will be referred to using the sigla from the following quotation (the versions which are the focus of the present thesis are given in bold script):

(1) **T = Cambridge, Trinity College MS B 14 52, ff. 2r-9v. Written before 1200. The bequest of Archbishop Whitgift, ob. 1604.**

(2) L = London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 487, ff. 59v-65r. Written about 1200. First listed in 1612 among the books of Archbishop Bancroft, ob. 1610.

(3) e = London, British Library MS Egerton 613, ff. 64r-70v. Written about 1225.

(3) E = MS Egerton 613, ff. 7r-12v. Another copy, in a different 98 hand, written about 1250. The MS was purchased from Sotheby in May, 1836.

(4) D = Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Digby 4, ff. 97r-110v. Written in the early thirteenth century. Donated by Sir Kenelm Digby in 1634.

(5) J = Oxford, Jesus College MS 29, ff. 169r-174v. Written between 1270 and 1300. Donated by the Reverend Thomas Wilkins on 9 January, 1693.

(6) M = Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS McClean 123, The Nuneaton Codex, ff. 115r-120r. Written about 1300. The bequest of Mr Frank McClean, received in November, 1904. (Hill, 1977: 97-98)

All the above versions as well as a composite text (a text composed of passages taken from different extant versions) were published (see Hill, 1977: 98 for references). As the overview indicates, all the versions were copied within ca. 100 years. It is version D which is the focus of this study. The texts closest to D in terms of the date of copying are T and L, which are both slightly earlier, and e copied approximately at the same time or slightly later than T. M, which is also of some interest for the present thesis, is the latest version copied 75–100 years after D. This could mean that some of the differences between D and M could be diachronic rather than diatopic, therefore consideration of the diachronic plane when comparing the two versions is required.

2.2.2 The Original version

As mentioned above, the original version is missing. Nevertheless, attempts were made to identify its time and place of origin. Morris's assumption that the original was written in Old English (Morris, 1875 in Hill, 1977: 107) was denied by Zupitza (1878), who dated the original 1170-1200 (Zupitza, 1878: 38). More or less in agreement with him, Hill supposed that the lost manuscript was made during the reign of Henry II, i.e. between 1154 and 1189 (Hill, 1977: 107).

The localisation of the original seems to be very complicated. The evidence based on local names in the text presents serious problems. However, using textual evidence, different scholars placed the original in "Essex", "the East", "Middlesex" or "London" (Hill, 1977: 107), so the text definitely seems to have been South-Eastern. Taking into account the date of composition, we may assume that the original was linguistically very close to T, which is localised in Essex.

As for the process of copying and the relationships between the extant texts, previous studies agree that none of the texts served as an exemplar to another one. However, they point out the possibility that some of the texts shared exemplars which are now lost. Zupitza presupposes the existence of four more lost versions (Zupitza, 1878: 36). For the purpose of

the present study, it is interesting to know that in Zupitza's view, D and T were copied from a common source. See the figure below:

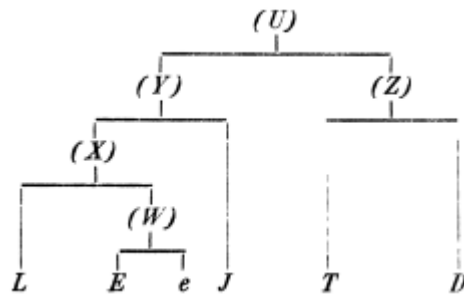


Figure 1: Zupitza's stemma (Zupitza 1878:36)

Version M is not included in the stemma because it was discovered after Zupitza published his study. Miss Paues (1907) believed that M had a separate line of descent from U (see above) (Paues, 1907 in Hill, 1977: 100). Moore (1930) criticized this conclusion on the grounds of insufficient amount of evidence and proposed a stemma differing from Zupitza's:

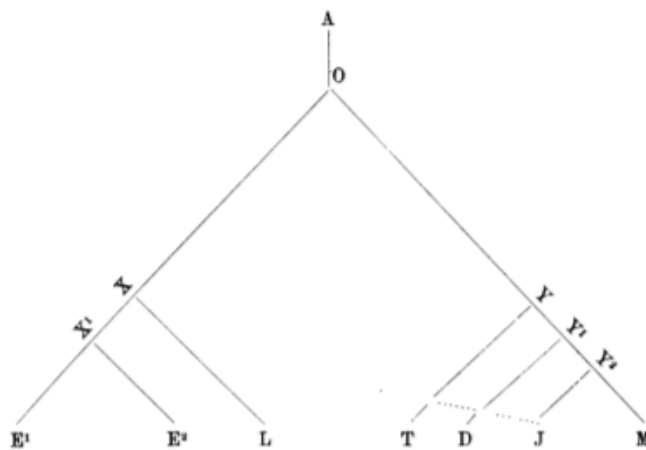


Figure 2: Moore's stemma (Moore, 1930: 281)

As the diagram shows, Moore established two groups of MSs – EeL and TDMJ. The main difference between Moore's stemma and Zupitza's is the place of J. Moore believed that J was a composite text copied from two different sources. However, since this study does not focus on J, it is the treatment of MTD which seems more interesting. Unlike Zupitza, Moore did not claim that T and D were copied directly from a common archetype. Instead, he postulated an extra layer of copying between Y, the common source of T and D, and Y', the common source of D and M. His method was based on an identification of shared errors and shared readings in general and his article cites numerous readings that support his conclusions. Moore himself admitted that there were also readings, which seem to contradict the stemma. Nevertheless, he believed that these could be accounted for as instances of independent variation. These readings included 5 readings in which LT differ from the rest of the MSs, 5

readings, in which LTD agree against the rest and 13 readings common to TD but not to the rest of the MSS (Moore, 1930: 282-283).

Moore's methods and conclusions were later criticized by Marcus (1934), who proposed a less complicated stemma:

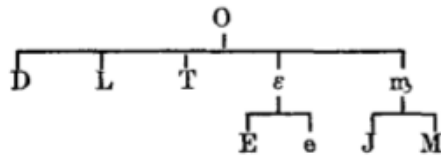


Figure 3: Marcus' stemma (Marcus, 1934 in Hill, 1977: 100)

Unlike Zupitza and Moore, Marcus postulated only two lost exemplars, one for Ee and another for JM, while DLT had separate lines of transmission from the original according to his results.

2.2.3 The extant copies

All the versions of the *PM* are included in LAEME. Their locations are shown on the map below:

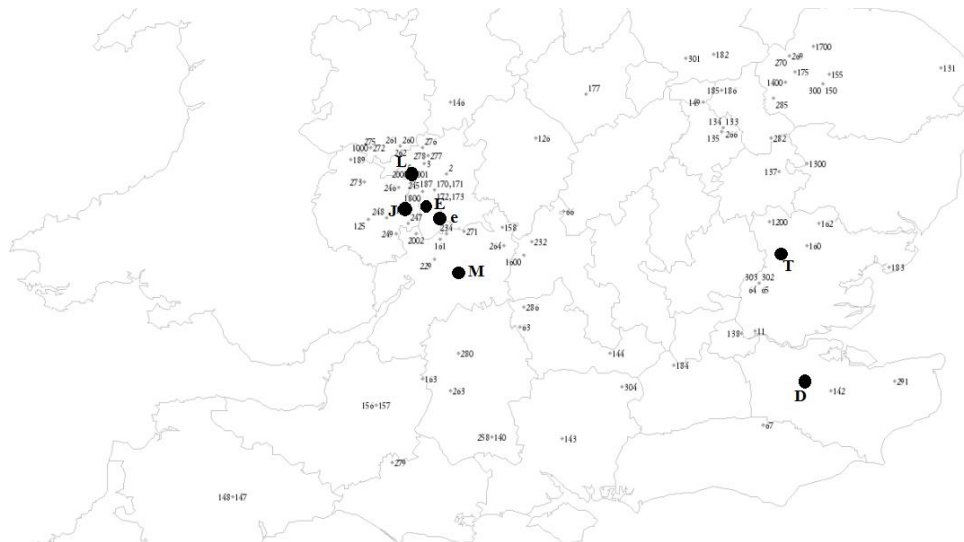


Figure 4: Poema Morale in LAEME (map taken from LAEME)

Although there is some agreement about the localisation, the authors admit that the evidence remains inconclusive. The following sections present more information on D, which is the focus of this study, and discuss the problem of its localisation, as presented in Hill (1977). More data on T and M is also provided, since both play an important part in the analysis. Finally, L is given some space as well because of its possible connections to T (see T below).

Version D – Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 4 (early 13th century, #8)

The manuscript Digby 4 comprises texts by eight different scribes working between the early 12th and early 13th centuries. All the items except the *PM* are in Latin. The connections between the *PM* and some other texts in the MS include homiletic content and the fact that some were copied from 12th century sources. Ker (1936 in Hill, 1972: 275) claimed that the manuscript originally comprised also a version of the *Proverbs of Alfred*, of which a fragment was preserved (London, British Library, Cotton Galba A xix, not included in LAEME). His view was challenged by Hall (1920 in Hill, 1972: 276). According to a more recent account presented by Betty Hill (1972), the *Proverbs* were not originally a part of the MS. They were added and later detached again. Affirming that the *PM* and the *Proverbs* were once adjoining texts in Digby 4, Hill further draws attention to three connections between these two particular texts:

“Oxford, Jesus College MS. 29 includes versions of both (fF. 169r- 174v, 189r-192r) in the same hand; Maidstone MS. A 13 includes on f. 93r, which contains a shortened version of the Proverbs, two lines from the Poema, which are close to, though not an exact copy of, the version in Lambeth MS. 487; and distinctively, the Proverbs in the Maidstone MS. (f. 93r) and Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B.14. 39 (f. 85r) and the Poema in Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS. McClean 123 (f. 114v preceding the text) are associated with a series of Old English letter forms accompanied by their names.” (Hill, 1972: 278)

According to the information presented up to this point, there seem to be no other extant texts copied by the scribe of D which could otherwise provide valuable evidence. The indirect connections between the MSs described in the quotation might prove useful in constructing theories about the relations between the individual copies of the *PM*.

Version D differs from the rest of the copies in its graphical form, being written in short lines arranged in four line stanzas. L is written as prose and the five remaining versions are written in long rhyming couplets.

As for the localisation, the most helpful features mentioned by Hill (1977) are: (a) Kentish forms in the text; (b) East-Midland forms in the text; (c) the manuscript is listed in the Catalogue of Christchurch, Canterbury (Hill, 1977: 109-110). Samuels offered two explanations of the mixed forms:

- a) There were two layers of copying (London + Kent, or vice versa);
- b) The scribe spoke a dialect of the area of Kent bordering on London (Samuels in Hill, 1977: 109).

Laing indicated in the description of D in LAEME that analysis of the language supports the second option (Laing, 2013). However, it seems sensible to admit the possibility that the East Midland forms might in fact come from one of the previous exemplars, or even the original, since the localisation of the original fits this hypothesis. Although the manuscript was supposedly copied in Canterbury, the localisation in LAEME places it more to the west.

Version T – Cambridge, Trinity College B.14.52 (335), entry 1 (late 12th century, #4)

Three hands contribute to the manuscript. *Poema Morale* is written by hand A. The language of the text in LAEME was placed in West Essex, though Samuels believed it to be a London variety influenced by immigration (Samuels in Hill 1977: 107). Linguistically, the text is very close to the language of a part of the *Trinity Homilies* in the same manuscript and written by the same scribe. The text languages (internally consistent linguistic systems) of the two remaining hands differ from A.

Analyses of the text languages performed by Ker and later by Laing and McIntosh (Ker 1932; Laing & McIntosh 1995b in Laing 2004) suggest that there were two different exemplars, one for the *PM* and the other for *Trinity Homilies*. Both were of South East Midland provenance, but the language of the latter is a more northern variety and also less homogenous. The conclusion based on these findings is that A was a *literatim* copyist, i.e. reproduced the forms found in his exemplar literally (see the subchapter on historical dialectology, section 2.4.1). This observation is accepted in the present thesis.

Detailed description of the manuscript mentions the fact that the scribe

“erased words at the end of the verse line, transferring them to the beginning of the next. This suggests the he is copying something that looks like prose (as in the Lambeth Homilies, Lambeth Palace, Lambeth 487), but is here transcribing it as verse” (Treharne, 2010)

This piece of information seems to be relevant for the examination of hypothetical relatedness of T and L, since L is written as prose and its archetype might have had the same form. Regarding this possibility, it should be also mentioned that some of the *Homilies* appearing in the same MS and the *PM* are also found in MS Lambeth 487 containing version L. Because of these connections, more information on L is also presented here.

Version L - London, Lambeth Palace Library 487, entry 3 (ca. 1200, #5)

L in LAEME is localised in North West Worcestershire near the border of North Herefordshire and South Shropshire. Importantly, a part of the *Lambeth Homilies* is written by the same hand as the *PM* (referred to as hand A in LAEME). Miss Sisam (1951) further

distinguishes between two “languages” of hand A, and ascribes the differences between them to the fact that they were copied from different exemplars. One part of the *Homilies* (group A) was copied from exemplar X while the other part as well as the *PM* (group B) were copied from Y, which was slightly later than X. Both X and Y were 12th century manuscripts (Sisam, 1951: 109).

Laing (2013) pointed out that this might be helpful in distinguishing between the forms influenced by the exemplars and those belonging to the dialect of the scribe – the latter should be shared by both groups.

Version M - Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean 123 (late 13th, #10)

M is the latest surviving copy of the *PM*. The view summarized in Hill (1977) is that its language is a mixture of the Essex variety and a Western element. Samuels placed the text in Essex (Hill, 1977: 110). The localisation in LAEME based on the fit-technique is in central Gloucestershire, which is quite distant from Essex. Additional information on the text admits that there might be a South East Midland dialect layer, which is supported by evidence from the Linguistic Atlas of Late Middle English (henceforth LALME). Thus, both of the presented views agree on the fact that there is a Western as well as an Eastern dialect layer in the text but not on the question of which layer is the dominant one.

The theory that the language is mixed was opposed by Laing (1992: 573). An interesting possibility mentioned in her preliminary study but not discussed in greater detail is that one of the exemplars of the text was written down from memory (Paues, 1907 in Laing, 1992: 571). This would be a possible explanation of its unusual number of omissions and additions. Although the association with Nunthean Priory in Warwickshire might be taken for extralinguistic evidence of origin, the language strongly contradicts such a notion (Laing, 1992: 571).

Hill (1977) mentions Hall’s (1920 in Hill, 1977: 100) opinion that D is the text closest to M and there is also a connection between M and T. The similarity of D and M is supported by the results of a previous study of mine (Vaňková, 2015, unpublished study).

An interesting feature of the MS is a list of OE letters with examples of usage included at the beginning. The explanation of this proposed by Laing (1992) is that the MS was copied by a French scribe who was probably unfamiliar with OE letters (Laing, 1992: 576).

2.2.4 Pre-selected texts

The analysis in the practical part repeatedly refers to several other manuscripts. Therefore, information about these texts available in LAEME is also included in the theoretical chapter.

London, British Library, Arundel 57 (1340, #291)

MS Arundel 57 is unique in that it has a colophon which explicitly states that it was written by Dan Michel in Canterbury *mid engliss of kent* in 1340 (the text, however, is considered representative of late 13th century English in LAEME because of the author's old age). This makes the MS a firm anchor (a MS the placement of which relies on extralinguistic evidence) in LAEME. The MS contains the prose work *Ayenbyte of Inwyte* (*Prick of Conscience*, literally “again-biting on inner wit”), which is a translation of French *Somme le Roi* composed in 1280, and several minor pieces (Laing, 2013).

It is believed that the *Ayenbyte* was translated by Dan Michel himself. Laing (2004) described his language as containing a number of originally French words and his spelling system as a “blend of the traditions of Old French and of his native *engliss of kent*” (Laing, 2004: 85). She also pointed out that initial *f* and *s* are spelled *u* and *z* (with the exception of French loanwords), which signals initial voicing (see section 2.3.3 Middle English phonology).

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc 471, entry 2 (late 13th century, #142)

Entry 2 in MS Laud Misc 471 refers to a version of *Kentish Sermons* written in hand B (hand A contributes a shorter piece, which is not placed (has no location assigned in LAEME)). The MS was localised in Central Kent based on linguistic evidence. It appears also in LALME placed more to the North and West (Laing, 2013). Hall (1920 in Laing, 2013) considered the text a translation from French.

Cambridge, Trinity College B.14.52 (335), entry 2 (#1200)

Entry 2 in the manuscript covers a part of *Trinity Homilies* in the same hand as the *PM* in the same manuscript (there are two more hands writing in different kinds of language). The text languages of the *PM* and the *TH* in this manuscript slightly differ, the *Homilies* representing a more northern variety.

Five sermons from this MS are also found in MS Lambeth 487 (along with the *PM*). The Lambeth versions are considerably shorter, which means that the ultimate source texts of both

MSs were either longer than those in Lambeth 487 or shorter than those in the Trinity MS (Laing, 2013).

London, British Library, Stowe 34, entries 1 and 2 (#64, #65)

MS Stowe 34 contains the only (incomplete) version of the text known as *Vices and Virtues*. The text language of the MS was fitted in South West Essex, somewhere between the placement of D and T. The text was copied by two main scribes writing in very similar languages; entries 1 and 2 refer to the work of hands A and B. Several scribes administered numerous corrections in the text and the contributions of the two main correcting scribes are tagged separately in LAEME (entry 4).

London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A xiii (#184)

The MS was localised in Chertsey, N Surrey based on extralinguistic evidence. The text is a cartulary of the Benedictine Abbey at Chertsey and the language seems to fit this placement. The sections written in English are quite short (680 words). The MS functions as a documentary anchor text in LAEME.

2.3 Early Middle English

The following overview describes the key features of EME and major developments which took place in the period. As such, it will be relevant for the analysis presented in the practical part of this thesis. The overview opens with a short survey of the main ME dialects as conventionally described in literature, listing also the above described pre-selected texts localised in the respective regions. The rest of the section focuses mainly on phonology, graphics and their interrelations, since the research part deals mainly with spellings and their probable phonemic values, while grammar is not discussed. The section is based chiefly on the chapters on Middle English in Millward (2012), Mossé (1968) and Fisiak (1986).

2.3.1 Middle English Dialects

Dialectal diversity in ME was considerable. A comparison with the situation in OE is a highly complicated matter because there are marked differences in the amount and variety of the surviving material from the two periods. Moreover, the vernacular scribal tradition weakened after the Norman Conquest, which means that differences in speech which would otherwise have been eliminated by the scribe commonly appeared in writing. Finally, limited

mobility of Anglophone inhabitants after the Conquest somewhat deepened the differences between dialects (Corrie in Mugglestone, 2006: 91). There are some evident correspondences between OE and ME dialect boundaries: we may roughly distinguish between five dialects, although drawing the divisions requires a good deal of simplification.

a) The *Northern* dialect was spoken north of the river Humber, which means that the division between Northern and Midland areas partly shifted to the north of the OE boundary between Northumbrian and Mercian dialects. This dialect is of little significance for the present thesis because all of the examined texts are localised far south of the river Humber.

b) The West Midland dialect was spoken in the western part of the OE Mercian area. Versions LEEJM are all placed in this region and the dialect should significantly differ from the Kentish variety of version D (to be discussed below).

c) The East Midland dialect was spoken in the eastern part of the OE Mercian area. The split into the two dialects was at least in part due to the Scandinavian influence in the eastern region. Corrie (2006) points out that it is also possible to identify a distinctive East Anglian dialect differing from the rest of the East Midlands (Corrie in Mugglestone, 2006: 91-92). The county of Essex lies in the southern part of East Midlands. Essex texts examined in this thesis include version T of the *PM* and probably the original and the *Trinity homilies*.

d) The Kentish/South-Eastern dialect belongs to the small region in the south-east (Sussex, Surrey, Kent, East Hampshire). West Kent is where version D of the *PM* was supposedly copied.

e) The Southern/South-western dialect roughly corresponds to the West Saxon dialect in OE, with the addition of a small formerly Mercian territory in the North-West. Also, its eastern boundary slightly moved to the west. Similarly to the Northern dialect, it is of little interest for this thesis.

As McIntosh and his colleagues (McIntosh, 1986 in Millward, 2012: 208) showed, the distribution of individual variants of a selected item virtually never respects the rough dialect boundaries and distributions of individual features overlap. Therefore, localisation of a text cannot be based on one or two features but must stem from a configuration of multiple features.

2.3.2 Middle English graphics

Before describing the ME alphabet and specific developments which occurred in the area of orthography, some problems connected with the nature of written evidence in ME and its use are discussed. The ME alphabet and possible correspondences between graphemes and

phonemes are highly relevant for the present study. In fact, dealing with the relation of orthography and phonology is an important part of any analysis concerning ME dialects and also a very challenging one. First, any reconstruction of pronunciation is essentially a guess (however well-informed it might be) since we have no recorded speech from the period (Fisiak, 1986: 13; Laing & Lass I, 2013: 1.1). Second, the logical consequence of the rupture in the writing tradition described above was the virtual absence of a unified spelling system. Each scribe was relatively free to design a more or less consistent spelling system of his own. This may seriously complicate if not forbid distinguishing between spellings which reflect actual differences in pronunciation and those which do not.

2.3.2.1 Spelling systems

The term *spelling system* may be defined as “mapping of some chosen set (or sets) of linguistic units into a set of visual signs” (Laing & Lass I, 2013: 2.2.1). An “ideal” system would be based on biunique representation, i.e. one visual sign per one linguistic unit, e.g. one grapheme per one phoneme. Some of the non-biunique strategies include *logography*, *morphography* and use of diacritics.

Laing & Lass (2013) mention two basic kinds of *logography*:

(a) the use of spelling to distinguish between two or more homophones. An example of this is the spelling of the words *rain* and *reign* or *buy* and *by*. The different strings of characters stand for the same sound but, at the same time, they clearly identify the specific lexeme (in writing).

(b) “the consistent assignment of particular spellings to particular words where other spellings would (...) be allowable, e.g. modern English bright with medial <gh>, where *brite would be equally well-formed” (Laing & Lass I, 2013: 2.2.1). The differences in spelling often reflect the etymology of the word.

Morphography refers to representation on the morphemic level; in other words, the string of characters does not represent a specific phoneme but a morpheme, which can be pronounced differently in dependence on its position. This strategy was employed in OE. For instance, fricatives were voiceless in the initial and final position and voiced in the middle of the word between voiced sounds, as in *wulf* pronounced [wulf] and *wulfas* pronounced [wulvas] (Laing & Lass I, 2013: 2.2.1). Laing & Lass further explain that the tendency in ME was to avoid this type of representation, although some instances of it definitely do exist.

Much more common phenomena in medieval writing were the use of abbreviations and icons. Laing & Lass propose to regard the connection between pure spelling and icons as

a cline with abbreviations standing somewhere in between. The difference between the three consists in the extent to which we may identify the represented sound based on the orthographic rules of the language. Even in the case of the logographs discussed above, the spelling *ai* or *ei* in *rain* and *reign* is subject to the orthographical rules of English. The situation with abbreviations is different. For instance, there is no way of knowing how to pronounce the words *that* or *saint* if they are represented by the barred thorn or *s-*, respectively (Laing & Lass I, 2013: 2.2.1). Still, there is at least some phonological clue indicating the initial sound. A different kind of abbreviations employed in medieval texts is representing “well known or much repeated sequences of words” (Laing & Lass I, 2013: 2.2.1) only by initial letters. An example of this is *ore ylk d. b. y. g. vs* meaning *our each days bread thou give us* (Laing & Lass I, 2013: 2.2.1). Icons like & for *and* differ from abbreviations in that they provide no phonological clues whatsoever.

2.3.2.2 Models of the writing system

Laing & Lass (2013) propose to use the model of *litterae* as a framework for dealing with ME spelling systems. In this framework, *littera* is an abstract object which may be materialized as one of the possible *figurae* (which are a matter of palaeography rather than orthography) and each *littera* may have one *potestas* or more *potestates*. *Potestas* here refers to the sound. For instance, ȝ (insular g) and ȝ (yogh) were two different *figurae* of the same *littera* having a few possible *potestates* including /z/ and /x/. A *Litteral Substitution Set* (LSS) is a set of *litterae* which may be used to represent a given *potestas*. A *Potestatic Substitution Set* is a set of *potestates* which may be assigned to a given *littera*.

A slightly different terminology is used by McLaughlin (in Fisiak, 1986:13). The central term in this model is *fit*, which refers to the “relations between graphemes and phonemes” (Fisiak, 1986: 13). *Graphoneme* roughly corresponds in meaning to the *literal substitution set*. Thus, a *graphoneme* is a set of symbols each of which is called an *allographone*. In a *simple graphoneme*, one phoneme is represented by one grapheme, while in a *complex graphoneme*, there are more graphemes which may represent the same phoneme. This is a distinction analogical to the biunique/non-biunique representation discussed above.

The brief description of the models makes it obvious that they differ mainly in the specific labels employed while they are very similar in terms of their internal structure and reflect the same features of ME writing systems (i.e. multiple correspondences between letters and sounds). The model of *litterae* and *potestates* is used in this study, since it is the preferred option for the authors of LAEME.

Based on the model of *litterae* and *potestates*, spelling systems may be characterised either as *economical* or *prodigal*. *Economical* systems are relatively close to the biunique representation (one *littera*, one *potestas*), while *prodigal* systems have a number of “unnecessary” correspondences (one *littera* for several *potestates* and vice versa). An important principle to be followed is that when assigning *litterae* and *potestates* we should look at each *text language* separately, since there can be marked differences between the individual spelling systems (*text language* is a term referring to an internally consistent linguistic system of a particular text, potentially different from systems of other texts). Laing & Lass (2013) stress that *prodigal* spelling systems are not necessarily irregular, i.e. despite the fact that they may appear chaotic due to the multiple non-biunique relations between *litterae* and *potestates* there is some level of internal consistency.

Laing and Lass (2013) further argue that the concept of *litterae* is useful for dealing with the excessive surface variation of ME forms. Unless the correspondences between *litterae* and *potestates* in each text are clarified, differences in spelling may be mistaken for differences in sound and the apparent variation may seemingly contradict the notion that dialects form a continuum. The model is a useful framework enabling a reduction of the large number of forms (the actual words as they physically appear in the MSs) to a smaller set of “abstract types” (sets of related forms with comparable phonemic value) which may be then used to produce a feature map (Laing & Lass I, 2013: 2.3.3).

Middle English alphabet and its developments

This section describes ME alphabet and discusses some developments which took place in Early Middle English. The table below presents the inventory of graphemes available to the scribes at the beginning of the ME period and the inventory at the end of the 14th century (based on Fisiak, 1986:14).

a	æ	b	c	d	ȝ	h	i	k	l	m	n	o	p	r	s	t	þ	ð	u	p	x	y	z	q				
a		b	c	d	ȝ	h	i	k	l	m	n	o	p	r	s	t	þ		u		x	y	z	v	j	g	v	w

Table 1: ME *litterae*

As is obvious from the table, Middle English alphabet went through several changes. Some graphemes went out of use, while other were added, mainly by the French scribes. Moreover, the whole system was partly restructuralized, i.e. the correspondences between graphemes and morphemes changed over time. Also, the scribes gradually abandoned the insular script and during the Early Middle English period, most of them were writing in the *Carolingian minuscule*. It should also be pointed out that not all scribes used the complete set

of graphemes. The following paragraphs summarize the changes in the graphic system relevant to the topic of the present thesis:

a) The grapheme *æ* (ash) went out of use in the 13th century. Fisiak (1986) mentions *The Ormulum* and *Proclamation of Henry III* (1258) as the latest texts where the symbol appears. New spellings employed in place of ash are *a*, *e* or *ea*. The sound /æ/, which the grapheme represented in OE, was also lost (this is going to be discussed in the subchapter dealing with phonology, section 2.3.3). The dates above suggest that *æ* was probably found in the original version of the *PM* and was still used by some scribes at the time when TDEeL were copied. The only *PM* texts having ash are Ee and T (7 instances only).

b) The use of *ð* (eth) was taken over by *þ* (thorn). This was a later development completed in the second half of the 14th century, although it must have been in progress earlier than that. In fact, the two latest versions – MJ, dating from the second half of the 13th century – no longer use the grapheme. As for the original version, we may confidently postulate the use of *ð*.

c) *ƿ* (wynn, wen) was replaced by *u*, *uu* and *w*, which was a new symbol introduced by Anglo-Norman scribes. In this case, Fisiak (1986) gives quite specific dates. The change was allegedly in progress from the beginning of the 13th century and was completed for most texts at the end of the 14th. J is the only version of the *PM* which has a consistent *w* in place of *ƿ* (of which there is just one instance in the whole text).

d) *g* was a new addition which entered the inventory of graphemes at the beginning of the ME period and appeared in place of *ȝ* (yogh) initially, finally and when doubled. The new symbol is found in all the versions of the *PM*³.

e) The use of *ȝ* (yogh) for /j/ in the initial position was abandoned after 1300, its successor being *y*. Initial *y* is not found in versions TLD but it does appear in the other versions, the frequency being much higher in JM than in Ee. Yogh representing the velar or palatal fricative was replaced by the digraph *gh*. Nevertheless, yogh completely disappeared much later: Fisiak (1986) mentions its use in provincial texts and charters as late as the 15th century. This change is too late for the *PM* manuscripts to have multiple instances of *gh*.

f) The letter *ƿ* began to be used in the 13th century. Same as the previously mentioned *w*, it was introduced by Anglo-Norman scribes. All *PM* manuscripts have some instances of *ƿ*, although there are radical differences in frequency, which is markedly lower in TeL.

³ The LAEME corpus distinguishes between yogh and insular 'g' (ȝ), which is an older variant of the letter but the two were later regarded as two different *litterae*

g) Another Anglo-Norman innovation was the use of *z*. The earliest attested instances of *z* come from Kent. Fisiak (1986) gives no date here. A certain thing is that the new grapheme is to be found on none of the extant versions of the *PM*.

h) *Th* was a new variant for thorn. The earliest attested instances come from the *Peterborough Chronicle* (before 1200). However, both variants remained in use until ca. 1400, when *th* finally prevailed. All the examined texts come from a period when *th* and *þ* both appeared. *Th* is rare in the *PM* manuscripts.

The rest of the described tendencies lack even an approximate dating. Still, knowing which spellings are old and which are innovative can definitely prove useful.

i) A few developments concerned the letter *c* or digraphs containing *c*. In OE, this letter typically represented /tʃ/ or /k/. The former function was taken over by *ch*, while *k* replaced *c* before *i*, *e*, *n*, *l*. Thus, *c* kept its original phonetic value in positions where it stood for /k/ while it came to be read as /s/ in other positions. OE digraphs containing *c*, namely *cw* (/kw/), *cg* (/dʒ/) and *sc* (/ʃ/), were all gradually replaced by different spellings. The new variant for /kw/ was *qu*, while *gg* and even later *dg* were introduced to represent /dʒ/. /ʃ/ had a variety of spellings including *s*, *sh*, *ss*, *sch* and *ssh*.

j) More new spellings included the digraphs *ow* and *ou* introduced to spell /u:/. The digraph *gu* also entered English with French loanwords and spread to some of the native words. The digraph *hw* typically used to spell the aspirated [w] was sometimes reversed to *wh*. This change in fact reflects the phonological change of /hw/ into /w/.

k) Two more changes were motivated by the scribes' intention to increase the legibility of their writing. In the newly adopted *Carolingian minuscule*, certain sequences of letters looked like a series of vertical lines, which was almost impossible to decipher. This is why the scribes sometimes decided to write *o* instead of *u* in the vicinity *m*, *n*, *v*, *w* and *k* instead of *c* in the positions before *i*, *e*, *n* and *l*.

The above discussion of developments mentions only a small number of the graphomorphemic correspondences in Middle English. A complete overview of the possible relations between sound and writing or *literal substitution sets* is available in a tabular form in appendix 8.1.

2.3.3 Middle English phonology

The repertoire of ME phonemes comprised roughly 23 consonants, 10 vowels and 7 diphthongs. However, not all of them appeared in all the dialects and some dialects retained OE phonemes which were lost in other dialects. Also, the numbers refer to the stage at which

major developments were more or less complete. During the Early ME period, a number of changes were under way.

The following paragraphs describe developments of OE phonemes in Late OE and in ME, paying special attention to the situation in Kent at the beginning of the 13th century, which is when and where version D of the *PM* was supposedly copied.

2.3.3.1 The vowels

a) /æ/ in Kent and the West Midlands closed to /e/ already in the OE period. Other dialects preserved /æ/ until ca. 1100 when it changed into /a/. The distribution of /a/ and /e/ is convenient for the purpose of this thesis because it predicts different forms for the neighbouring regions of Essex and Kent – the locations of version D and the closely related T.

b) /a/ had a nasalised allophone [o] appearing in accented syllables before nasals and commonly spelled *o* in OE. This allophone disappeared, becoming [a] in ME in all regions except the West Midlands where it merged with /o/ and retained the OE spelling *o*. This development is perhaps of lesser interest than the previous one because D is localised far from the area of West Midlands; still, some other versions are not.

c) /a:/ followed two different courses of development. It remained unchanged in the North, while in the rest of the dialects including Kent it lowered to /ɔ:/. The borderline between the regions which kept /a:/ and those having /ɔ:/ lies in the North, which would suggest that all of the examined texts should have /ɔ:/. Still, this change is not completely irrelevant. Mossé (1968) claims that it must have started very early but it came to be reflected in spelling only some time after 1225 (Mossé, 1968: 22), i.e. the time when D was copied. This might be helpful in distinguishing between the new forms with *o* (if any) and the older ones which might have been copied from the exemplar.

d) The development of OE long /æ:/ is quite complex due to the double origin of the phoneme, which is not reflected in all ME dialects. Kentish is distinct in that the contrast was lost already in OE, both phonemes having developed into the closed /e:/. Another dialect where the distinction disappeared before ME was West Saxon. Other dialects preserved the contrast even in ME, having closed /e:/ for one variant and open /ɛ:/ for the other.

A still different development of /æ:/ was its change into /a:/, which occurred in the 13th century and was restricted to the counties of Essex (the location of T and the original), Bedfordshire, Herefordshire, Huntingdonshire and partly Cambridgeshire. The date suggests that this development probably occurred too late to affect the original or T, which was allegedly

copied before 1200. Still, it might be too hasty a decision to completely exclude this option prior to proper analysis.

e) /y:/: developed into three different vowels in ME. The Kentish variant, which was also found in other South-Eastern counties including Essex, was /e:/. The change of /y:/: into /e:/: was complete before the Norman Conquest. The early dating is of some interest here since we may be relatively sure that /y:/: was absent from the active repertoire of the scribes of T and D. The original /y:/: remained unchanged until ca. 1300 in the West Midlands and the South, although the spelling changed from *y* to *u* (*ui*, *uy*). Thus it is possible to find the old variant in the *PM* texts localised in the area. In other dialects it unrounded and became /i:/:.

f) The rounded central vowel /ø/: unrounded into /e/, but this change did not happen in all dialects at the same time. In the North and East Midlands it had been completed by the end of the 12th century, while in the West Midlands and the South, the vowel remained rounded until ca. 1300. This pattern is reminiscent of the development of /y:/:, although the unrounding in the East Midlands came roughly 150 years later.

g) The diphthong /i:e/: was simplified into /i/ or /y/ before 900. Therefore, it should not appear even in the original version, although we cannot confidently exclude the possibility that it was still present in spelling.

h) The diphthong /e:a/: in Kentish changed into /ja/, which is a unique development occurring in no other dialect. The general development of /e:a/: was a simplification to /æ/ which subsequently followed the course of the original /æ/. An exception to this rule concerns the OE Anglian dialect which had long /a:/: instead of the diphthongs before *ll* or *l*+consonant. This /a:/: underwent the same changes as other instances of the same phoneme.

i) The diphthong /e:o/: also underwent a distinct development in Old Kentish, becoming /i:o/ and later /i:/ in the final position and /je:/ elsewhere.

In other dialects it became /ø/, which changed further into /ε/ in the 12th century. This development was somewhat delayed in the West Midlands and the South, where it did not occur until the 14th century.

A brief remark concerning spelling should be made at this point. The digraphs *ea* and *eo* originally representing the diphthongs were replaced by *a* and *e* in the 12th century, i.e. at a time when the diphthongs were no longer pronounced. Some scribes continued to use the digraphs in spelling even longer.

Appearance of new diphthongs

As was mentioned above, none of the OE diphthongs was preserved in ME, but a number of new diphthongs emerged in the period, usually through shifting of syllable boundary. We may distinguish four main sources of these diphthongs:

a) Vocalisation of palatal /j/ after /æ, e, i/ giving rise to /ai, ei/. The /ei/ was later monophthongized, giving /i:/. The process began at the end of the 13th century in the South-West, from where it spread to other regions.

b) Development of an obscure vowel before [x] and [ç] resulting in /au, ou, ei/.

c) Vocalisation of medial /g/ after /a, o, u/ resulting in /au, ou, u/.

d) Merging of a vowel with /w/ in the same syllable.

The consonants

a) Voicing of fricatives

The distinction between the voiceless fricatives /f, θ, s/, which had voiced allophones /v, ð, z/ in OE, became phonemic in ME. Mossé (1968) states that the process began about 1200 in the Northeast Midlands. The voicing occurred in medial position in all dialects, but the change is manifested in spelling only in the case of /f -> v/. Initial voicing of the same sounds was restricted to the region South of the Thames (Mossé, 1968: 39). Fisiak (1986) is more specific about the causes of the change. The explanation he gives identifies the introduction of loanwords as the trigger of establishing /v, z/ as phonemes in the initial position in the South, West Midlands and London. Southern dialects (including Kentish) differed from the rest in having the allophonic contrast between the voiced and voiceless fricatives already in OE. Consequently, French borrowings with the voiced variants in the initial position failed to trigger the change and the voiced phonemes might have arisen as late as the 14th century (Fisiak, 1986: 55-56). Another factor playing a role in this change are the effects of internal borrowing. Millward (2012) also points out that the voicing of fricatives in the initial position was not always signalled in spelling (Millward, 2012: 150).

Both Mossé and Fisiak agree that the voicing of initial /f/ is reflected as v and the voicing of initial /s/ as z in the spelling. The distinction between /θ/ and /ð/ in spelling is unclear, but it is assumed that /θ/ was voiced as well, analogically to /f/ and /s/. Initial voicing is a prominent feature in Kentish texts including version D, which makes this particular development unusually pertinent to the present thesis.

b) Dropping of consonants

ME /l/ disappeared in the vicinity of /tj/. This change is restricted to the South and the Midlands.

Initial /h/ ceased to be pronounced in voiceless positions before /l, n, r/ and before /i/ in (*h*)*it*. As a consequence, scribes were sometimes unsure whether initial *h* belonged to certain words or not, as they had only very limited means of knowing the etymological origin of words concerned. This is why an excrescent *h* sometimes appears in words which originally did not contain the sound at all (hypercorrection) (Lass & Laing, 2010: 246).

2.3.3.2 Summary of relevant points

Based on the above overview, the Kentish dialect at the beginning of the 13th century may be briefly described as follows. The dialect had a characteristic inventory of vowels, as /æ/, /æ:/, /y/, /y:/ and /ø/ disappeared already in OE, all resulting in /e/ or /e:/. This means that the new phonemes could be relatively well established at the time when D was copied. OE /ɑ:/ developed into /ɔ:/ before 1200, but this only began to be indicated in spelling at the time. Prominent features of Kentish whose occurrence was highly restricted comprise the sounds /ja/ and /je/ developed from the OE diphthongs /e:a/ and /e:o/. Moreover, Kent lies within the area affected by the voicing of initial fricatives.

The fact that some of the enumerated features are shared by the dialect spoken in Essex are likely to obscure whether similarities of T and D are due to a shared exemplar or the closeness of dialects. Still, there seem to be a few useful clues, especially the distinctly Kentish variants presented above and the distribution of /e/ vs /a/ descended from OE /æ/.

A recurrent pattern in the developments is that West Midlands is usually more conservative in that they keep the original OE variants longer than the other dialects. As a result, relatively early texts from the eastern part of England may share some features with texts of a later date from the West Midlands. This suggests that the interplay of diatopic and diachronic differences deserves serious attention when comparing earlier texts localised in the eastern area such as D with the later ones placed in the West Midlands or nearby, such as M.

2.4 Historical dialectology

This subchapter aims to discuss selected issues from the field of historical dialectology. It begins with a short introduction summarizing major challenges and problems faced by a historical dialectologist. Then it moves to a recapitulation of what is known about different approaches to copying on the part of the scribes, i.e. the aspects of so-called *scribal practice*, and explains the closely related term *stratigraphy*, or the identification of different layers in the text. The final part of the subchapter briefly describes some more general methodological points.

Research into Middle English dialects presents problems, the most important one being the scarcity of material, which is due to the limited production of English texts in the period concerned as well as subsequent loss of manuscripts. Information on the social background of the copyists is often limited to the assumption that they were usually male Catholics. The consequence of these problems is that many of the conclusions remain on the level of intelligent guesses and assumptions while some facts are utterly impossible to prove because the necessary evidence is missing. An omnipresent issue is the combination of diachronic and diatopic variation: in other words, it is often difficult to tell whether the differences between two texts indeed reflect different dialects or rather different times of copying. The last issue is mixing of forms coming from different dialects in one text, which is a complex problem addressed in the following section.

2.4.1 Scribal practice

Copies of ME texts often display a mixture of the dialect of the original and the dialect of the scribe. At the same time, the unavailability of the original text complicates the identification of dialectal features. The ratio of forms from these two major sources depends on the approach of the copyist. We may roughly distinguish between three kinds of scribal practice: *translating*, *literatim copying* and *partial translating* (Laing, 2004: 52), the two latter terms were introduced by McIntosh (McIntosh in Laing, 2004: 52). A *translating* scribe converts the language of the exemplar into his own dialect. A *literatim* copyist transcribes the text word-for-word, preserving the dialectal features of the exemplar. The last approach results in what is sometimes called *Mischprache* – “linguistic output containing two or more elements that are mutually incompatible: that is, from non-contiguous areas within the established dialect continuum” (Laing & Lass I, 2013: 1.4). It seems that in the early Middle English period, translating was relatively rare compared with Late ME and that there were more *literatim* copyists (Laing & Lass, 2013: 1.5.6). Naturally, individual scribes cannot be expected to represent “clearly defined types”, but the description of the general tendencies is a valuable piece of knowledge.

Besides adapting the form of a word to their own dialect, the scribes may have chosen to substitute a different lexeme. Such a decision may (but does not always) indicate that the use of the lexeme was restricted to a certain region. Identification of regional words is the focus of *word geography*. In his article about this discipline, Carrillo-Linares (2010) describes six ways of possible treatment of a dialectal lexical item by the scribe, which are sometimes reminiscent of the scribal strategies described above: (a) preservation of the lexical item, possible

alternation of spelling and morphology, (b) replacement by a different lexical item with the same meaning, (c) replacement by a different lexical item with a different meaning, (d) paraphrase of a short passage of the text, (e) omission of the item, (f) glossing the item (improbable in poetry) (Carrillo-Linares, 2010: 327-328).

The term *stratigraphy* is connected with analysis of texts in which mixed dialectal features are present due to subsequent copying. Establishing the stratigraphy consists in an identification of different layers of copying, each of which is linguistically homogenous.

Laing & Lass describe two phenomena resulting in mixed language: *relict usage* and *constrained selection* (Laing & Lass, 2013: 1.5.6). A *relict* is a piece of language appearing in the exemplar which the scribe either chose or forgot to translate. *Constrained selection* refers to the situation when the scribe does not feel the need to translate since the form in question comes from a neighbouring dialect and is a part of his passive repertoire, although he would not use it actively.

In her article about scribal practice, Hudson suggests that it is the rare forms which probably come from the exemplar (Hudson, 1966, 361-362). The reasons for the preservation of exemplar forms mentioned in the text include oversight, misunderstanding, deliberate tolerance of archaic forms or preservation of rhymes. The text also points out that the oral dialect of the scribe does not necessarily correspond to his “written dialect”, i.e. the scribes might have retained certain written forms which they would not have used in speech (Hudson, 1966, 371-372). Carrillo-Linares (2010) adds more factors which may have influenced the scribes’ decisions, namely text type, metrical structure and authority of the work in question. He further explains that the identification of exemplar forms might be complicated by the fact that diverse parts of the copy were sometimes copied from different exemplars (Carrillo-Linares, 2010: 330).

2.4.2 Methodology

A dialectologist typically works with a set of items. Each item is a unit having a number of equivalent forms varying across space. In order for the item to be useful, there must be a certain degree of formal variation and the item has to appear in a sufficient number of source texts, ideally in all of them. Laing calls the combination of these two factors the *discriminatory yield* (Laing & Lass, 2013: 1.4).

Carrillo-Linares (2010) makes two observations about items and forms, which may prove useful for methodology. These observations come from his study in the field of word geography but the mechanisms seem to be applicable in dealing with variation of forms as well. The first

observation concerns the distribution of the forms. Carrillo-Linares explains that complementary distribution is comparatively rare. The usual pattern is the existence of more general variants alongside more regionally restricted ones (Carrillo-Linares, 2010: 330). The second observation is a distinction between high frequency, mid-frequency and low-frequency items (the frequency refers to the absolute number of occurrences in the examined text). Carrillo-Linares claims that the usefulness of an item for analysis depends on its frequency in the text. Single occurrences are highly unreliable, since the scribe's treatment of the item in question cannot be compared against his treatment of instances of the same item. Thus, it is impossible to discover whether the single occurrence is a product of the scribe's dominant approach (translating, literatim copying...) or not. High frequency items pose a different problem. The scribe may become familiar with the form and cease to alter it after some time even though it is not the form used in his dialect. Mid-frequency items therefore provide more reliable evidence than the other two categories (Carrillo-Linares, 2010: 331-333).

Selection of items is one of the crucial steps in any analysis. Normally, the items are pre-selected by the researcher. Such pre-selection, however, is impossible without a very good prior knowledge of the language. In connection with this observation, it should be mentioned that in the case of LAEME, the localisation of the texts was not based on a pre-selected set of items. Instead, an extensive electronic comparison of the available texts was performed first, suggesting possible units which could function as items.

2.5 Results of previous studies

The present research project was preceded by two small-scale studies based on the LAEME corpus and dealing with MSs of the *PM*. The first consisted in a comparison of versions L and D and the second one explored the connections between M and J. The results of these analyses partly shaped the working hypothesis and goals of this thesis. The relevant points are summarized in the following paragraphs.

The general conclusion of the comparison of D and L was that the study failed to identify regional forms which would be focussed enough to sufficiently support the localisation of D in Kent. Identification of forms coming from the hypothetical exemplar shared with T was limited to the form *shulle* of "shall" and possibly the digraph *ea*. These results were obtained using a methodology which is different from the one employed here in that the selection of items was constrained to three extracts only and D was compared to a text which was geographically distant.

The second paper, on the connections between M and J, is of lower relevance to the present study. The analysis revealed some similarities between M and Ee, which is, however, hardly surprising considering their spatial (albeit not temporal) proximity. Furthermore, evidence for exemplar provenance of certain forms was quite convincing (the forms were present in T but not in other texts localised near M). The forms included “each”, “either” and “any” with *a* in the spelling plus “le:ogan” and “coning” with medial *u*.

3 Material and Method

3.1 Material

First of all, this subchapter describes the primary material used for the present thesis, i.e. the LAEME corpus, in terms of its purpose, size and structure. The following section deals with the method designed to answer the main questions of this research.

3.1.1 Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English

In the Introduction to LAEME, Laing and Lass define a dialect Atlas as “at least in part a set of maps showing the distribution of linguistic features in space” (Laing & Lass, 2013: 1.1), pointing out that there are no clear dialect boundaries but overlapping distributions of various features.

LAEME was designed as a research tool enabling access to information on Early Middle English texts and dialects. It was published in electronic form and is accessible online. Its basis is a corpus of Early Middle English texts. The size of the corpus is 650,000 words and it has detailed lexico-grammatical tagging as well as information about the original manuscripts. A searchable index of sources and information about the individual manuscripts are also available.

The basic unit of the LAEME corpus is a *tag*. Each word in an actual MS is represented by one tag in the corpus. Each tag consists of the actual *form* found in the MS, the so-called *lexel*, which serves to identify the lexeme (every lexeme may have multiple forms in the corpus) and a *grammel*, which is the grammatical tag.

Lexels are either Present Day English variants of the lexeme in question or the corresponding OE forms, if Present Day English forms are not available or ambiguous. Some *lexels* are further specified using characters in curly brackets. The grammatical tagging is based on the “traditional” categories (nouns, adjectives, number, gender). *Grammels* of words in rhyming position are followed by “{rh}” and thus easily recognizable. Some words, such as articles or personal pronouns, are clearly identifiable by the *grammel* and have no *lexel* in the corpus.

The electronic version of LAEME enables to perform searches in the corpus, based on *lexels* (lexical items), *grammels* (morphological tags), *forms* (actual words in the text) or a combination of the three, which is a feature that we would expect in any corpus. However, LAEME is also a dialect atlas and as such it includes some specialized tools, especially the construction of maps. After a search is performed, the locations of the manuscripts with positive search results are shown on the map. Another feature called *Item list* enables to display

all occurrences of an item along with references to the texts in which they appear and with their localisation.

3.1.1.1 The corpus and the fit technique

The LAEME corpus contains almost all of the available texts from the EME period as defined above (some of the longer texts, however, are not transcribed in their entirety) plus several slightly later northern texts, which also appear in LALME. These texts were included in order to make up for the absence of earlier texts and provide a better coverage of the whole territory (Laing & Lass, 2013: 1.3), which is nevertheless very patchy. The only area a number of texts sufficient to create a real continuum is South West Midlands.

The placement of texts on the map proceeded from the identification of so-called anchor texts, i.e. texts with an explicitly indicated place of origin. Extralinguistic data enabling localisation are scarce and often unreliable, the notable exception being MS Arundel 57 (containing the *Ayenbite of Inwyt*). The rest of the texts were localised using the so-called fit-technique. This method consists in

comparing, map by map, spellings particular to an unlocalised text with those already placed in the localised matrix. For each map, areas where those or similar spellings are *not* found are then eliminated, until (in the ideal case) only a single, well-defined location is left where the whole assemblage of spellings could plausibly occur. (Laing & Lass, 2013: 1.4)

Due to the lack of anchor texts in EME, the fitting sometimes relied also on texts already localised in LALME. Several texts in the Atlas were left unlocalised since their languages are too heterogeneous to be placed anywhere on the map.

The locations of all texts included in the corpus are shown in the picture below:



Figure 5: LAEME coverage

It is clear from the picture that the distribution of texts is very uneven. There is a conspicuous concentration of texts localised in the West Midlands providing better coverage than the one of the Eastern part of England. The Southern and Northern and especially the central Midlands regions have a rather poor coverage. The situation is complicated also by the fact that not all the regions have MSs from different periods and that some texts are very short so they hardly ever provide useful data. Unfortunately, we cannot effectively compensate for the serious lack of data; however, bearing the limitations in mind may prevent faulty interpretation of the results, especially when dealing with gaps in the dialect continuum, which may suggests whether the words in D are regional or rather exemplar forms.

3.1.1.2 Corpus interface

The present research was carried out using an interface different from the one available online. The interface was designed to make the retrieval of data faster and more comfortable but it is not described in detail here because its use had no effect on the data. A screenshot of the interface is available in Appendix 8.6.

3.2 Method

The construction of the method was governed by the general methodological rules of historical dialectology as well as the specific objectives of the present study. The work consisted mainly in selection of items and forms, construction of maps and analysis thereof. Special attention was paid to pre-selected texts which are considered particularly relevant to the topic of the study. The analysis sometimes required an examination of pieces of the original texts, but this was not done systematically. The following section explains the individual steps of the analysis.

3.2.1 Spelling versus pronunciation

The main part of the analysis treated forms with (supposedly) identical pronunciation as equivalent and the regular expressions used to search for the forms were modified accordingly. The obvious drawback of this approach is that it fails to reveal similarities or differences in spelling, which may be relevant, especially for the description of exemplar influence.

In order to compensate for this, a short analysis focused solely on spelling was included at the beginning. This part dealt with three texts only – versions D, T and M of the *PM*, since connections between D and the two other versions are relevant to the objectives of the present thesis. The analysis was essentially a combination of an automatic search and manual comparison of the frequencies of different spellings accompanied by an examination of the actual instances in the texts. It should be pointed out that the design of this method relied on the comparable length and content of the examined texts (raw frequencies are used) and that application to a set of two different texts would definitely require some modifications.

3.2.1.1 Automatic search

The basis of the analysis was an electronic version of the list⁴ of possible *Literal Substitutions Sets* taken from Fisiak (1986: 16-22), which is more comprehensive than the other

⁴ The list had a form of an array of javascript objects. Each objects had two properties – *g* (string), which was the grapheme, and *ph* (array), which was an array of the possible *potestates*.

sources which were consulted (Mossé, 1968 and Millward, 2012). A simple script was used to search the examined texts for all the instances of the *litterae* on the list. The script returned a list of *litterae* present in a given text and their frequencies. This kind of analysis had two general faults, which had to be compensated for:

a) When searching for monographs, the script matched all the instances of the isolated monograph as well as its appearances in digraphs. For example, the search for *s* returned one hit per each instance of *s*, *sc*, *sh*, *sch* etc. This was not considered a major problem, since the analysis was not intended to provide exact numbers for each spelling but rather to serve as a basis for a comparison of two texts. Although some modifications of the script could prevent the “double” matches, the level of precision was considered unnecessary for the purpose.

b) The script could not distinguish between strings of two or three characters functioning as a single unit and random co-occurrences of the characters. Therefore, it returned matches for some digraphs even though these were not actual instances of the digraph. For example, *gu* in *gult* (“guilt”) or *cu* in *cume* (“come”) were matched as instances of the digraphs *gu* and *cu*, respectively, even though they do not represent [g, k] but [g+vowel, k+vowel]. Such hits were irrelevant for the analysis and the results were discarded.

3.2.1.2 Manual analysis

The aim of the comparison was to describe:

a) Systematic differences in spelling between the two examined texts, that is to say, systematic assignment of a specific *littera* to a phonemic value which is represented by a different *littera* in the other text. The specific pattern expected to reflect this kind of differences was a high frequency of a *littera* in one text and its simultaneous absence or a significantly lower incidence in the other. In order to be viewed as having “significantly lower incidence” in one text an item had to appear at least twice as often in the other one. This was considered a “safe” limit for the exclusion of differences of dubious significance. An analysis of fewer marked differences was preferred to a lengthy discussion of possibly irrelevant ones. The limit is nevertheless completely arbitrary.

b) Marginal spellings in complementary distribution with a more general variant. Such spellings were expected to have extremely low incidence in one or both of the texts. Setting a threshold value for “extremely low incidence” is very problematic because some spellings naturally appear less often than others. This is why the frequencies of spellings occurring approximately 10 times or less were first compared to their average relative frequency in other texts before being examined as instances of rare spelling.

All the patterns of differences described under a) and b) were analysed. Specific procedures employed in this step involved:

a) A search for alternative spellings (in the case of marginal spellings) aimed at an identification of the usual representation of a given sound.

b) A search in the corpus identifying the lexemes in which a given *littera* occurs in each text. The search was intended to shed more light on how the given *littera* is employed, mainly whether the usage is restricted to a certain set of lexemes.

c) In the case of rare spellings in both texts, manual check on whether the spelling occurs in the same word in the two texts. Exemplar provenance was considered the most likely explanation of co-occurrence of a rare spelling in one word.

d) Reference to the occurrences in other MSs of the *PM*. A comparison with other versions of the *PM* was believed to provide evidence supporting or contradicting the possibility of exemplar provenance. The examination of T also involved a comparison with *Trinity Homilies*, because the text was copied by the same (presumably *literatim*) scribe and the differences between T and *TH* should be due to exemplar influence.

3.2.2 The main part

The main part of the analysis was based on construction and examination of maps displaying specific forms of specific lexemes. Such analysis naturally had to be preceded by the selection of the items and forms. Obviously, the selection of items is always a vital issue, since not all items have the potential to provide the data needed to answer the research questions. The procedure is quite straightforward in the case of a comparison of two versions of a specific text, but the aims of the present study required a more complex technique. The employed method essentially relies on a comparison of D against several texts of variable length and content. The following section explains how the analysis proceeded from a pre-selection of texts used to obtain a suitable research sample to the actual examination of the maps.

3.2.2.1 Pre-selection of texts

Several texts available in the LAEME corpus are of special interest because of their relation to version D of the *PM*. All have already been presented in the theoretical background (sections 2.2.3 and 2.2.4). A comparison of D against these MSs served as the basis for the selection of items. This section specifies the reasons for the choice of these particular manuscripts.

a) London, British Library, Arundel 57 (1340, #291)

Obviously, the localisation of Arundel in Kent makes it especially helpful in identifying local forms in D. MS Arundel 57 is also valuable in that it is an anchor text.

b) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc 471, entry 2 (late 13th century, #142)

The second (and the last) Kentish text may also facilitate the search for local forms.

c) Cambridge, Trinity College B.14.52 (335), entry 1 (late 12th century, #4)

If Zupitza's claim that T and D shared an exemplar is true, version T of the *PM* is the essential source for the description of exemplar influence.

d) Cambridge, Trinity College B.14.52 (335), entry 2 (1200)

This is an auxiliary text for the identification of exemplar forms. As it was written by the same scribe as version T, we may suppose that forms found in T but not in this text come from the exemplar.

e) London, British Library, Stowe 34, entry 2 and 1 (65, 64)

MS Stowe 34 is conveniently placed between the locations of D and T and is comparably long, which makes it one of the few texts that may show a gap in the dialect continuum, possibly suggesting that some forms shared by T and D come from the exemplar. Moreover, it provides examples of Essex forms.

f) London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A xiii (184)

MS Vitellius A xiii was included because it is a (documentary) anchor text localised not far from the location of D.

d) Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean 123 (10)

Version M of the *PM* was selected because previous research has suggested that it is very close to D. A secondary objective of this study is to present some explanation of this similarity.

3.2.2.2 Pre-selection of items

The fundamental criterion of the selection of items and forms to be examined was the methodological requirement of maximum discriminatory yield (term explained in section 2.4.2). Moreover, the diversity of forms in the texts presented above was taken into account. With these criteria in mind, the selection proceeded as follows:

The LAEME corpus was downloaded and copied into a local database enabling large-scale searches and better manipulation of the data than the web interface. A simple query was used to identify lexemes which appear at least in 45 texts contained in the corpus and, simultaneously, in D, T and Arundel or Laud (which are long enough to contain a large number

of different lexemes). The limit of 45 texts was fixed during the selection of items. It turned out to be a satisfactory compromise between the requirement of frequent occurrence of the lexeme and the need to find enough lexemes for the research sample.

Forms of the relatively frequent lexemes contained in the pre-selected texts were examined one-by-one. Lexemes whose forms displayed little or no variation across the texts were discarded. In the opposite case, the lexeme, regular expressions representing the forms found in D and sometimes also the grammel (where relevant) were stored in a table. The same was done with combinations of grammels and forms, since personal pronouns have no lexels in the corpus.

3.2.2.3 Categorisation of forms

The next step was to categorize the items. Two criteria for categorization were applied. First, forms representative of a specific linguistic development described in the theoretical subchapter 2.3.3 were grouped together.

Second, using an SQL query, all rows in the table were assigned a code representing all the pre-selected texts plus manuscripts of the *PM* in which the form in question appeared. This code had the form of a string of characters, each of which stood for one text. For example, the code LEEeD indicates that the form appears in versions L, E, e and D of the *PM*.

This made it possible to quickly filter out the forms which are present/not present in specific texts as well as examine a particular set of forms, identifying regional forms or exemplar forms. The overview below briefly describes the sets, explaining the choice of these particular combinations of texts.

a) Kentish forms: + D + Arundel + Laud (– T)

The presence of a form in all the three Kentish texts should provide reasonable support for the claim that they are local forms. The purpose of the analysis of this set was to find in D forms characteristic of Kent.

b) Shared with Arundel: + D + Arundel –Laud (– T)

c) Shared with Laud: + D + Laud – Arundel – T

Since there are only two Kentish texts against which D could be compared, shared forms which appear in D and each of the two but not the other one were also examined.

d) Trinity Exemplar: +D + T –Tb

The probability that a form comes from the shared exemplar of D and T should be higher if the form in question is not found in *Trinity Homilies* copied by the scribe of T. The purpose here was to identify such forms.

e) The Exemplar: +D +T – Arundel – Laud – Stowe

As D, T and both of the Kentish texts are localised not very far from each other, it is difficult to distinguish between local forms and exemplar forms, since they may be identical. The purpose of this set is to find the forms, which are shared by D and T and simultaneously are absent from the Essex and Kentish texts localised nearby.

f) Poema Morale: +D + T + M – all other

Forms in this set are likely to come from the original version or a common archetype of the three MSs.

3.2.2.4 Additional searches

In order to present a more complete picture when dealing with a specific linguistic development, additional forms representative of the change in question but not satisfying the criteria of discriminatory yield were added where available. This is always indicated in the text.

The method employed to search for the forms consisted in an automatic search in the corpus for potentially useful items and in manual selection of the relevant ones. The structure of the queries used in this step is described in appendix 8.5.

3.2.2.5 Analysis of maps

Each group of forms representing a specific linguistic development was analysed separately. The analysis proceeded in two stages. The first one consisted in going through the maps for each form one-by-one, examining the distribution of the two (or more) variants in the category (e.g. the variant *a* or *e* for OE *æ*), possibly checking the alternative forms or referring to the whole texts. The purpose of this was to describe typical patterns of distribution of the form in question (if any), noting possible gaps in the dialect continuum.

The second stage focused on finding out which forms could be regarded as regional and which were likely to come from the exemplar. This was based on the sets of forms present in a particular combination of texts (section 3.2.2.3), referring back to the patterns of distribution.

3.2.2.6 Notes on the presentation of results

Textual output

The analysis involves references to specific lexemes or forms. This thesis follows the convention used by Laing & Lass (2010). Lexemes (lexels) or grammels (grammatical tags) appear with quotation marks, e.g. “fire”, “be”. Forms are given in italics e.g. *fer*, *beon*. Regular expressions employed in the searches are not used when referring to forms in the text of this

Phonetic symbols

Maps

Manuscripts of the *PM* are displayed with blue border, the Kentish texts with a green one. Version M is displayed in orange, so that it can be easily distinguished from other MSs of the *PM* localised in the West Midlands. The remaining pre-selected texts have special colour as well. The picture below shows the locations and colours of all the preselected texts.



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4 Analysis

As pointed out in the previous chapter, the analytical part of the thesis is divided into two parts based on two distinct methods. The first part deals with a comparison of spelling in D, T and M while the second part discusses the individual categories of the selected items.

4.1 Spelling

A table showing the complete results of the automatic search (spellings and their frequencies in DTM) is available in appendix 8.2.

4.1.1 Spelling analysis: D vs. T

The following paragraphs summarize the results of the comparison of spellings in D and T. Most of the differences concerned rare spellings appearing as alternatives to more general variants. Only one consistent difference in the spelling systems was identified. Some of the differences in spelling actually reflect differences in pronunciation.

The only marked difference between the two spelling systems revealed by the employed method is the correspondence of *ei* in T and *eȝ* in D as in *iseien/iseȝen* (“see”), *þeih/þeȝh* (“though”) or *peies/peȝes* (“ways”). D sometimes also uses *ei* but the instances in T are twice as frequent.

4.1.1.1 Unique spellings in T

There are several spellings occurring in T only, all of very low incidence. These include *w* (8), *æ* (6), *j* (2), *y* (1), *ff* (1) and *th* (3). The presence of *w* is perhaps the most surprising finding here, since the grapheme supposedly was a relatively recent addition to the alphabet and we would probably not expect to find it in the original version or the older versions in general. As for the distribution of the variants, it is interesting to observe that six of the eight instances of *w* in T appear in three neighbouring lines of the poem, the remaining two are also close together approximately 15 lines further down and some of the words with *w* are repeated. Another observation is that the grapheme is used three times to represent the second element in the new diphthong *ou*, *au* developed from /og, ag/ in “own”, “máge” and “draw”. The incidence of *w* in T is higher than in all the remaining *PM* MSs except J, which uses the spelling consistently (there are 4 more occurrences in M, 1 occurrence in E). *w* in the other MSs does not appear in the same lexemes as in T.

Each of the six instances of *æ* appears on a different line and the individual occurrences are relatively far away from one another. Unlike the innovative *w*, *æ* is a quite archaic spelling, almost certainly coming from the exemplar. The two instances of *j* both appear at the beginning

of the text, in the initial position in “young” (normally written with *ȝ*) and “evil” (otherwise initial *e*-). *TH* also has “young” with an initial *j* (2 out of 2 occurrences of the lexeme) and multiple instances of “evil” with initial *i*. The only *PM* manuscripts with any instances of *j* are E (2) and e (8). The scribe of e apparently sometimes used *j* for the prefix “ge-” and the *j* in E appears finally in “maég” and “weary”.

The instances of *th* are found in “through” (otherwise with *thorn*), “loth” (otherwise *eth*) and the form *metheschele* of uncertain meaning (the lexeme given in LAEME is “meardesgole”). The words appear at different places in the text. Again, occurrences in other *PM* manuscripts are rare. E and L have two instances each in different lexemes than T. The occurrences in J and the *TH* are not instances of the digraph but coincidental occurrences of *t* and *h* next to each other.

The single occurrence of *ff* in “offear” also appears in L in the same word, which makes exemplar provenance highly probable. The only *y* is found in *syrreue* (D: *serreue*), “sheriff”. The lexeme with this particular spelling is found in no other *PM* manuscript. Unlike the previous spellings, *y* has multiple occurrences in EeJ and the *TH*.

The instances of the discussed spellings are similar in that their frequency is extremely low, all except *w* are not found close together in a relatively short passage of the text and all except *y* rarely occur in the remaining versions of the *PM*. Moreover, the instances in the other MSs usually appear in different lexemes than the ones in T. It is questionable to what extent these occurrences might be purely random. Regardless of whether the scribe copied the forms from the exemplar (possibly replacing other instances of them) or introduced them himself, the results indicate that he did not mind the inconsistencies.

4.1.1.2 Unique spellings in D

This category comprises only a single occurrence of *mm* and 7 instances of *cch*, apparently standing for */tʃ/* in “wretch”, “fetch”, “reccan” and “stycce”. Except for one occurrence of “wretch” with medial *ch*, the spelling is consistent in the enumerated items, although more frequent representations of */tʃ/* are *ch* or *c*. As for the spelling in the other manuscripts of the *PM*, EeMJ have 6-8 instances each in the same lexemes as D (the only exception is one instance of “such” in M). The sharp contrast between DEeMJ and LT is curious. It would seem that a common archetype of DEeMJ and possibly the original contained the spelling, while a common archetype of LT did not. This finding, of course, is not usable as an isolated piece of evidence but its significance could rise if a similar pattern of differences occurred elsewhere.

The spelling *mm* in D is found only in *nammore* (“nomore”). An identical form appears in M and the spelling is used also in M in “woman” and in J in “some”. These results in connection with the fact that *nammore* is one of two variants of the lexeme in D might indicate a shared archetype for M and D.

4.1.1.3 Spellings with a significantly lower incidence in T

Some graphemes or digraphs appear in T significantly less often than in D, namely *v* (4 against 109 in D) and *sc* (3 against 20 in D). The latter item has little value as evidence because the difference in frequency is mainly due to the occurrence of the digraph in the extremely frequent lexeme “bliss” in D. What is more interesting is the incidence of the spelling in other *PM* manuscripts, which is significantly higher. The version with the lowest frequency is L, which has 60 instances although it is incomplete. The figures suggest that the digraph *sc* was very frequent in the original and most of its occurrences were replaced somewhere in the line of transmission from the original to TD. Although this might have happened independently for each of the texts, it is perhaps more probable that the incidence of *sc* was markedly lower already in an archetype shared by the two versions.

The four instances of *v* in T all appear in the initial position and represent /u/ (*vnet lif*, *vre*), which is otherwise written as *u*. The differences in this category are closely connected with voicing of fricatives, which is one of the developments to be discussed in the second part of the analysis (section 4.2.2).

4.1.1.4 Spellings with a significantly lower incidence in D

If we exclude random co-occurrences of graphemes which do not function as a single unit, only the *littera f* remains. A higher incidence of *f* in T is complementary to the previously mentioned higher incidence of *v* in D and reflects phonological developments.

4.1.1.5 Rare spellings shared by D and T

This category comprises *eo* (5 in D, 5 in T) and single occurrences of *oe*, *ii* and *sch*. The first item is connected with phonological developments and will be discussed in the second part of the analysis (section 4.2.7). Of the three remaining spellings, only one appears in the same word in the two texts – *poniinge/puniinge* (“wunian”). This spelling is shared by D and T only. The other two are found in a different lexeme in each text. D has *hoe* (“P13OdI”) and T has *oerre* (“eorre”), which seems to be a mistake. Neither of the forms appears in the other

versions of the *PM*. The spelling *sch* in D is one of the possible variants for /ʃ/ in “shame”, while in T it appears in the curious form *metheschele* mentioned above.

4.1.1.6 Spelling of D and T – summary

Some of the differences concern phonology rather than spelling. The relatively small number of differences suggests that as far as spelling is concerned, both texts are very similar. On a more general level, T seems to have a higher number of rare spellings of uncertain origin (*w*, *ff*, *j* etc.). One of the possible explanations for this could be that the scribe of D (or his predecessor) was more careful about replacing alien forms with his preferred spellings, which would fit the hypothesis that T was a literatim copyist and at the same time it would suggest that D (or the copyist of its exemplar) was a translator.

4.1.2 Spelling analysis: D vs. M

Some of the spellings discussed in this section have already been analysed in the previous one. Therefore, the analysis is going to be somewhat shorter here.

Unlike with the previous comparison, differences in the system as such are more marked. The scribe of M uses two *litterae* which are completely absent from D, namely *y* (40) and *ȝ* (195). The corresponding spellings in D are *i* and *ȝ*, respectively. These differences affect also the incidence of *i* in M, which is lower than in D (817 against 988). *ȝ* is not used in M. D, in turn, systematically uses *eth* (226), while the same value in M is represented by *thorn*, which results in a higher incidence of *thorn* in M (628 against 461 in D). The differences described so far reflect the developments in the graphic system of Middle English presented in the theoretical part (section 2.3.2), D having relatively older spellings compared to M.

There are also two systematic differences which do not involve a complete absence of a grapheme in one of the texts. The first one is the significantly higher frequency of *v* in D (109 against 24 in M). An examination of the actual instances in the text has showed that *v* in M appears exclusively in the initial position, mainly in “for” and the prefix “un-”. The more frequent variant with the same function is *u*. The fact that 19 of the instances are capital letters, while capital *U* appears one time only, seems to be more than a mere coincidence. Thus, the use of capital *V* instead of capital *U* could be seen as a systematic practice in M. D has more initial *v*’s in a much wider range of lexemes. The second difference is the significantly higher incidence of *sc* in M (92 against 20 in D). While the spelling in T is restricted to six lexemes and 15 of the 20 occurrences are found in “bliss”, the scribe of M employed it in 15 different lexemes. Still, the high number of instances is largely due to the presence of the digraph in all

the occurrences of “shall”, which is a very frequent lexeme. Generally, it would seem that both scribes employ the digraph in selected lexemes rather than mixing different spellings in one lexeme.

The consistent use of *eo* (55x) in M contrasting with six occasional instances in D is connected with phonological developments and will be discussed later (section 4.2.7).

4.1.2.1 Unique and rare spellings

Marginal unique spellings in M comprise only *w* (3) and *pp* (1). The occurrences of *w* in the MSs of the *PM* were discussed in connection with the spelling in T (section 4.1.1.1). Unlike the instances of *w* in T, the three *w*’s in M appear at different places in the poem. Considering the list of OE characters included in M (suggesting that the scribe was not familiar with them (explained in section 2.2.3)), a likely explanation might be that the scribe of M normally used *w* and mechanically replaced three random occurrences of *wynn*. The doubled *pp* is unique to M. The only rare spellings in D missing from M are the already mentioned *ii* and *oe* found in D and T only. Both D and M have 1-2 instances of *sh* and *sch* found in different lexemes.

4.1.2.2 Spelling in D and M – summary

Spelling differences between D and M result chiefly from the fact that they are relatively distant in terms of the date of copying. Compared with the analysis of D and T, the examined points were of a completely different nature. Marginal variants are scarce but there are several systematic correspondences, specifically *y* (M) and *i* (D), *ȝ* (M) and *ȝ* (D), *þ* (M) and *ð* (D). The use of *v* and *u* and the digraph *sc* also differ in a more or less systematic manner.

4.2 Phonological developments

This section discusses individual categories of items based on phonological changes or on the OE forms of the items. Each section opens with a general characterization of the forms in D, which is followed by a discussion of maps and the forms found in the preselected texts.

The list of the phonological developments to be discussed here includes the following:

- a) The development of OE /æ, æ:/ (section 4.2.1)
- b) Voicing of initial fricatives (section 4.2.2)
- c) The change of long /ɑ:/ into /ɔ:/ (section 4.2.3)
- d) Forms of lexemes with OE short /a/ (section 4.2.4)
- e) Dropping of initial *h* and *h*-insertion (section 4.2.5)

- f) Elision of *l* (section 4.2.6)
- g) Disappearance of the diphthong /e:o/ (/eo/) (section 4.2.7)
- h) Disappearance of the diphthong /e:a/ (/ea/) (section 4.2.8)
- i) Forms with *ie* having a different source than /e:o/ (section 4.2.9)
- j) The development of OE /y/ and /y:/ (section 4.2.10)
- k) The rise of the diphthongs /ou, au/ from /og, ag/ (section 4.2.11)
- l) The opposition of *i* and *e* (section 4.2.12)
- m) Uncategorized forms (section 4.2.13)

Two categories proved to reflect differences in spelling only. The first contained expressions with either *u* or *ou* spelling and the second expressions with either *u* or *o* spelling. The items from these categories are not discussed in this section but they are included in the complete research sample in appendix 8.3.

4.2.1 The development of OE /æ, æ:/

The developments of the short and the long variant are treated together because the predicted forms for Kent and T are /e, e:/ and /a, a:/ in both cases (which would probably result in a lot of repetition, if the two sounds were discussed separately). This is by far the largest group, comprising over 40 items. A vast majority of the examined items in D have the Southern variant *e*. There are some instances of *a* as well but all of them except *ani* “any” are mixed with *e*. The items with some instances of *a* include “any”, “day”, “shall”, “water”, “what”, “where” (from the short /æ/) and “either” (from the long /æ:/).

4.2.1.1 The forms with *e*

As for the usual distribution of the forms with *e*, there are two general patterns. The first one is exemplified by the distribution of “after” with initial *e*:

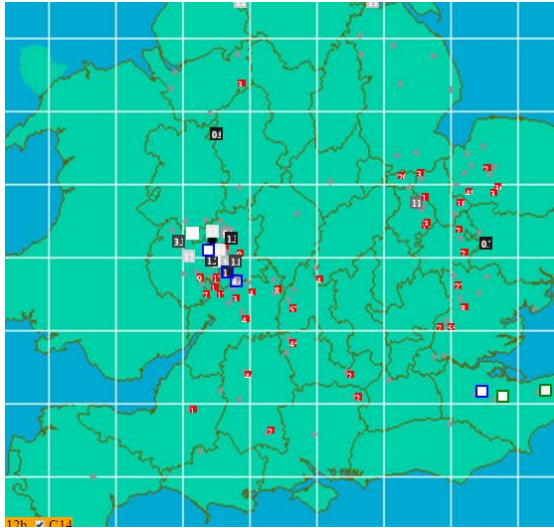


Figure 6: "After" with initial *e*

The variant appears in the Kentish texts, which are rather isolated from the rest; another area where the form occurs in any quantity are the West Midlands. Lexemes whose *e*-forms share a similar pattern include: “break”, “laétan”, “last”, “shall”, “that”, “water”, “what”. All of these lexemes except “laétan” have attested OE forms with a short vowel.

The second pattern is represented e.g. by “read”:

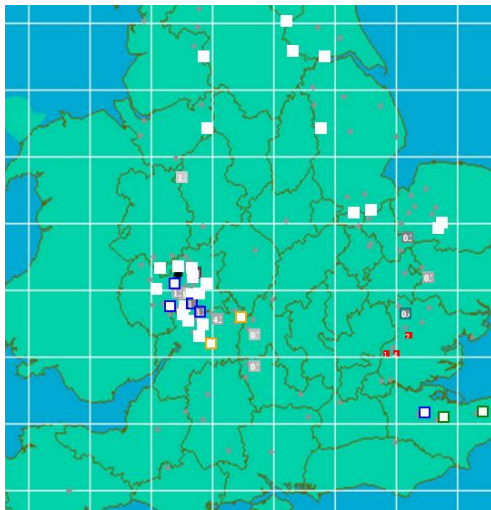


Figure 7: "Read" with medial *e*

In this case, the form with *e* is present almost everywhere with the exception of Essex. Other lexemes with this distribution include “benot”, “burn”, “eat”, “raedan”, “read”, “sit” (from the short vowel); “rae:d”, “deed”, “evereach”, “evermore”, “hae:lu”, and “teach” (from the long vowel). In the case of some more lexemes, it would be more precise to say that the *e*-form is present in all texts except T, (“most”, “say”, “where”, from the short vowel), (“deal”, “deed”, “e:ce”, “ever”, “lead”, “less”, “there” from the long vowel). This pattern corresponds with the expected development of long /æ:/ into /a:/ in the small South-Eastern area including Essex and the neighbouring regions.

4.2.1.2 The forms with *a*

The *a*-forms of “what”, “shall”, “day” and “water” are very common and appear even in Kent. The distribution of *ani* seems irregular but the results become clearer if we compare a map of texts earlier than 1250 with a map displaying only texts from the 2nd half of the 13th century or later.

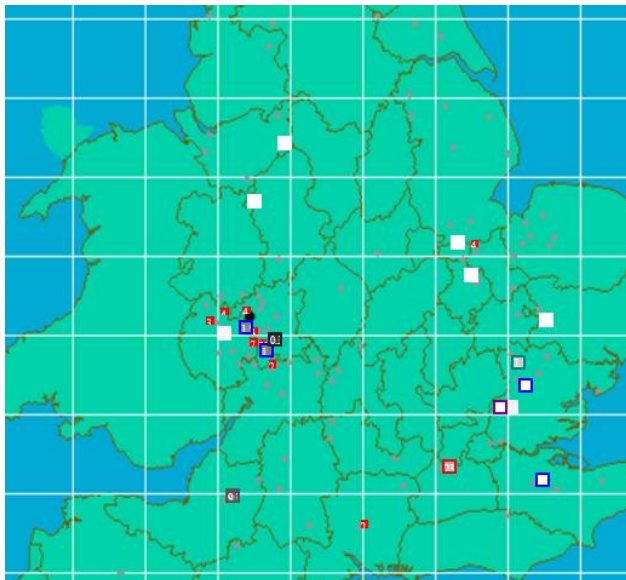


Figure 9: "Any" with initial *a* (before 1250)

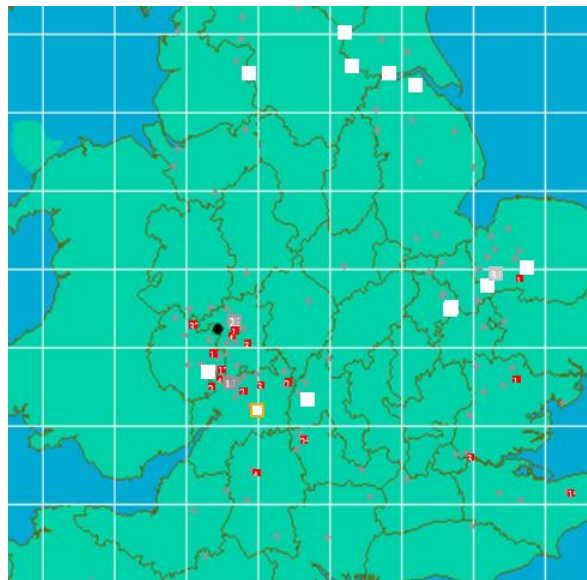


Figure 8: "Any" with initial *a* (after 1250)

The lack of South-Eastern texts from the later period reduces the reliability of the results. Still, there seems to be a perceptible tendency for the *a* to be replaced by *e* in the West Midlands earlier than in the East Midlands and the South. While few of the earlier West Midland texts have *a* and two of them are L and E, the usage in which is mixed, all the older South-Eastern texts have *a* and *e* appears only in the later texts. It is of course questionable whether the *a* in older texts in fact stood for /æ/ or /a/.

The *a*-form of “either” is extremely rare. Excluding some northern texts, it appears in seven manuscripts only, four of which are versions EeMD of the *PM*. In theory, “either” might have undergone a similar development to “any”, with the change completed somewhat sooner, but more data would be needed to confirm this. The *a*-form probably comes from the original version of the text, which must have been earlier than the extant copies.

“Say” is the only lexeme written with *i* in D and the map looks completely different from the ones described so far:

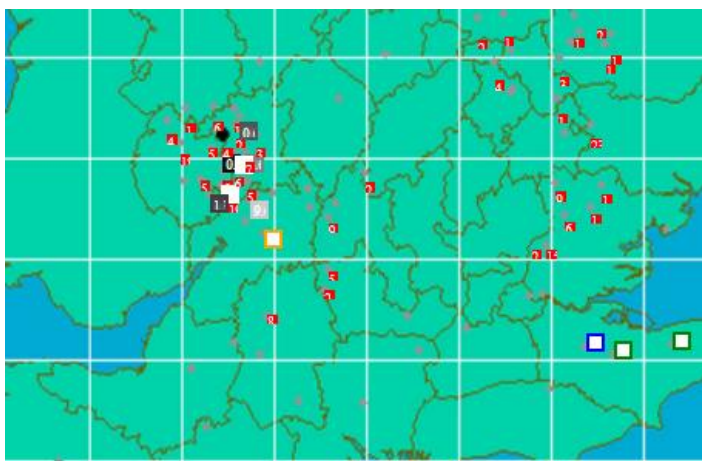


Figure 10: "Say" with medial *i*

The map indicates that the researched form appears in all the three Kentish texts and, at the same time, in a relatively small area in the West Midlands. The only *PM* manuscript having this form is M. The pattern is certainly unusual. It is also worth noting that only two MSs in the South West Midland area except M have a consistent *i*. One of them is a version of the *Ancrene Riwe* (London, British Library, Cotton Nero A xiv, entry 1), which survives in multiple copies, and the other is Cambridge, Trinity College B.14.39 (323), entry 2. A note in LAEME says that the latter text might be mixed to some extent, which means that the form *sig-* is not necessarily regional. The same might apply to the former texts. Considering that the form in other West Midland texts is quite rare and its occurrence is restricted only to some of the MSs in the region, we may argue that it is in fact a South-Eastern feature or, more specifically, a Kentish one, although this cannot be stated with certainty because there are no instances of "say" in a large region west of Kent. The instances in the West Midlands may in fact have come from the archetypes of the texts and they might have been present in the scribal dialects of some of the scribes.

4.2.1.3 Sharing

Kentish forms

D shares about one half of its *e*-forms with at least one of the Kentish texts. Although some of the forms are too widespread to be useful for localisation, the occurrences of others are restricted to Kent or the West Midlands. Since localisation of D in the latter area does not seem to be an option, these forms support the present localisation of the text.

Six *e*-forms in the sample do not appear in MS Arundel 57, namely the words "angel", "lay", "say", "though", "way" and "day". These lexemes have the diphthong *ay* instead.

Affinities with T

The list of forms shared with T in this group is very short (9 items only). Moreover, only three of these forms do not simultaneously appear in Arundel or Laud (“any” in *an-*, “lay” in *le-* and “though” with medial *e*). Since *ani* is the only form whose distribution is a little discontinuous, there is some reason to believe that it might have been copied from the exemplar.

Mere six forms with *e* ever occur in T, where the *a*-form clearly predominates. The situation is different in the *Trinity Homilies* where *a* and *e* are mixed, although the majority of the researched *e*-forms does appear in the text. This suggests that the exemplar of T had more *a*-forms than the exemplar of TH.

“Either” with an initial *a* is interesting in that it is the only *a*-form having more occurrences in D than in T. It also appears in Ee and M and the TH (copied by the scribe of T). This, in connection with the fact that D has mixed forms, makes exemplar provenance highly probable, nevertheless, it does not support the hypothesis of a direct shared archetype for T and D.

Affinities with M

The majority of forms in this category (30) are present in version M of the PM. Since all the forms are widespread and occur in the area where M is localised, there is no reason to look for an explanation based on a shared exemplar.

The same cannot be said about the *a*-forms of “any” and especially “either” which do not seem to be local. This justifies the assumption that they might come from a common source of DM. The case of “say” is also interesting. If the view presented above is true, the form *sigge* is Kentish and its presence in M might be due to exemplar influence.

4.2.2 Voicing of initial fricatives

The category comprises 37 items. As noted in the theoretical part, the opposition of /θ/ and /ð/ is impossible to analyse because the litterae *ð* and *þ* were commonly used interchangeably. The opposition between /s/ and /z/ is quite straightforward, since the voiced forms appear only in Arundel (8 items). D has an initial *s* in all the examined items. The explanation of this might be that the scribe did not use the littera *z* (zero occurrences in the whole text), so the means of signalling initial voicing were not readily available to him.

As for the contrast between /f/ and /v/, a vast majority of the forms found in D has initial voicing, signalled either by *v* or *u*. The only word in which the scribe of D consistently uses

the voiceless variant is “-fold”, with only two occurrences. There are only five more lexemes which have at least one form beginning with a voiceless fricative: “before”, “fela”, “find”, “for” and “from”.

4.2.2.1 The voiced forms

The patterns of distribution are quite regular. All the voiced variants appear in D and Arundel and some also in the other Kentish MS. Most of them can also be found in the South West Midlands, especially on the border of Herefordshire and Worcestershire. As for the area between Kent and the South West Midlands, the analysis is complicated due to the lack of texts. Still, appearances of the voiced variants in M and the *South English Legendary* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 145, localised in North West Berkshire) seem to suggest some kind of a continuum. It should also be pointed out that most of the forms in the texts outside Kent are mixed and the voiceless variants often prevail. The map below shows the occurrences of “for” with initial voicing.

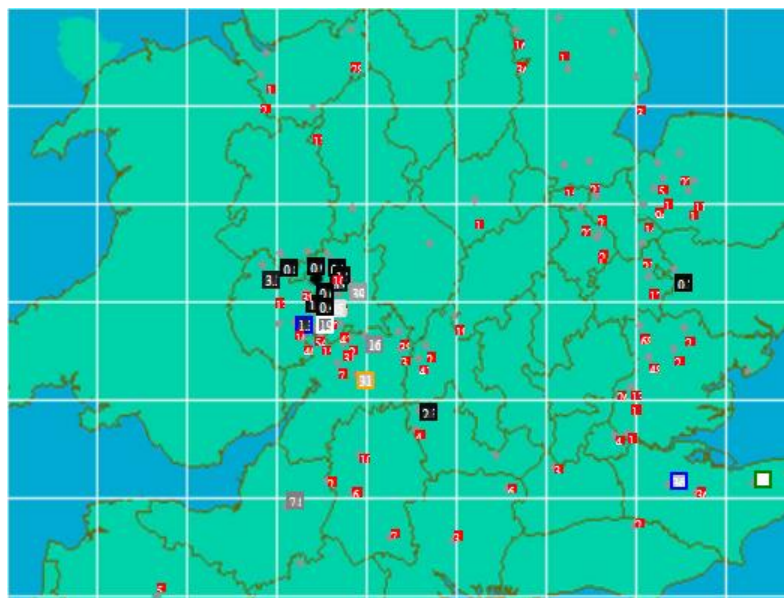


Figure 11: Initial voicing in “for”

The maps for the voiceless variants are of little interest here, since they appear almost everywhere.

4.2.2.2 Sharing

Kentish forms

Consistent initial voicing is a prominent feature in Arundel 57. 17 forms with initial *v/u* are found in both D and T. The situation is more complicated in the case of Laud. Instances of initial voicing are rare in this manuscript, there are only four voiced forms shared with D

(“fair”, “fire”, “-full” and “fast”). “Fire” appears also with an initial *f* and the rest are single occurrences. Still, the fact that there is no other region in which initial voicing would be more consistent than in D, Arundel and Laud strongly supports the localisation of D in Kent.

Affinities with T

This group comprises forms without initial voicing. In order to obtain more data for analysis, an additional search for forms without initial voicing was performed. Exemplar influence seems to be a good explanation of the voiceless forms.

It is important to stress that not all lexemes on the list have mixed forms. Four of them are single occurrences and three more have only voiceless forms. A plausible explanation for the presence of these can be found in the possibility that the scribe never used initial *v* in the concerned words. Since there is no readily available evidence to contradict this hypothesis, further analysis is focused on lexemes with mixed voiced and voiceless forms.

All the occurrences of the voiceless forms were located in the text and compared with the corresponding words in T. This procedure led to three interesting observations.

a) 7 out of the 11 occurrences of “for” all appear between lines 34-70 and the forms of “find”, “fire” and “forget” can also be found in this section or very close to it. Voiced forms appear both before and after this section. This suggests that the scribe was not entirely consistent at the beginning of his work, but later adopted a more systematic practice of replacing the voiceless forms with voiced ones. Naturally, the opposite might be also true (i.e. the scribe began to replace voiced variants with voiceless ones but later decided to abandon the practice).

b) The case of “fiend” and “-full” is interesting in that the voiced forms differ from the voiceless ones also in the stem vowel. While the forms *vend* and *viend* have medial *i/ie*, the form *feond* has *eo*. Similarly *-full* has *u* after *f* (*fulle*) but *o* after *u* (*uol*). The latter difference could be accounted for by possible avoidance of having two *u*’s next to each other (which occurs only three times in the whole text). The case of “fiend” is more interesting. Considering the fact that *feond* in D is the less frequent variant as well as the low incidence of *eo* in D (6 instances only), it seems highly probable that the word was copied from the exemplar. Still, the presence of the word does not directly support the hypothesis of an exemplar shared with T, because the corresponding form in T is *fiend*.

c) Similarly to *feond*, other voiceless forms often differ from T, which further undermines the hypothesis of a shared exemplar. Naturally, we cannot exclude the possibility that the scribe kept the initial *f* and changed the rest of the word. This explanation, however,

cannot be applied to the case of *fram* on the following passage, unless the scribe of T substituted a different preposition for “from”:

*D: ich pille of helle pine / parni zeu □ **fram** harme*

*T: Ich pille tellen eop of helle pine □ parnin eop **pið** harme.*

If the scribe of T was indeed a literatim copyist this part of the analysis opposes more than supports the shared exemplar hypothesis. Still, the evidence suggests that the forms lacking initial voicing were taken from the exemplar of D.

Affinities with M

The number of shared forms is relatively high (18) and the list includes forms both with and without initial voicing. A rough comparison of the corresponding forms showed that they often differ in other features except initial voicing (e.g. *fealde* (“fold”), *ueste* (“fast”) in D against *felde*, *uaste* in M). In general, initial voicing in M is definitely less consistent, and voiceless forms do not always correspond to voiced forms in D.

Despite the occurrences of voiced variants in texts localised relatively close to M the evidence for regional provenance of the forms is definitely not completely persuasive. Consider the map for the voiced variant of “fair”:



Figure 12: Initial voicing in “fair”

None of the texts closest to M has initial voicing. Moreover, the black colour of four out of the five South West Midland texts suggests that the voiced variants are marginal. Therefore, the possibility of exemplar provenance perhaps should not be excluded. Alternatively, the fact that M “sticks out” could be due to a faulty localisation in LAEME, but that would require a thorough verification. Either way, the presence of initial voicing in MD is a feature which can at least partly account for their marked similarity.

4.2.3 The change of long /ɑ:/ into /ɔ:/

There are 11 items in this category and 7 out of the 11 analysed variants in D have *o*. The only words appearing with *a* are “nomore”, “2”, “strong” and “not”, none of which has a consistent spelling with *a*.

4.2.3.1 The forms with *o*

The comparison of the maps did not reveal any distinct pattern identifiable at first sight. The fact that all the forms appear south of Humber is hardly surprising. The only exception is “not”. While the *o*-form is found almost everywhere, the *a*-form is more common in the South. In the case of “2”, “loth” and “ha:tan”, there is a visible North-South division running through the West Midlands. An example of this is the distribution of “2” with *o*:

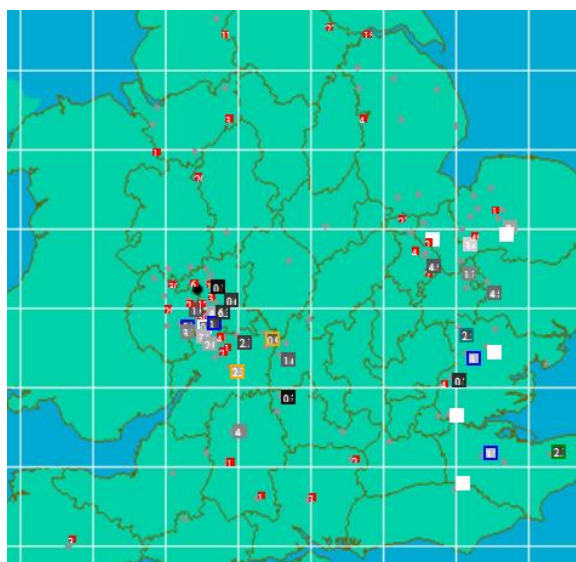


Figure 13: “2” with medial *o*

There can be marked differences in the frequencies of the individual forms. Compared to the map for “2” above, “nomore” with *o* is significantly less common:

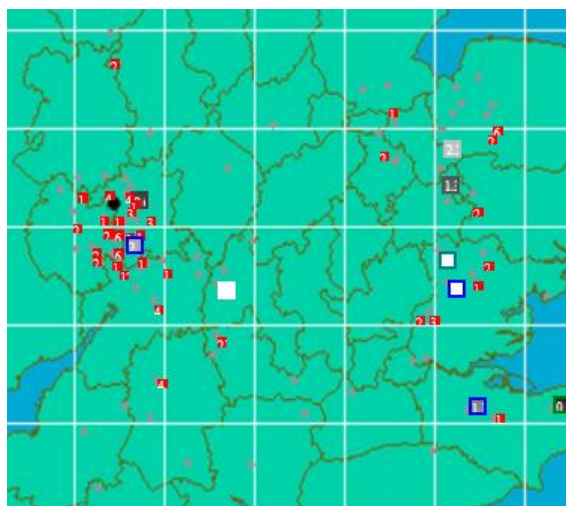


Figure 14: “nomore” in no-

The variable frequency corresponds to the observation that the change of /a:/ into /ɔ:/ only began to be indicated in spelling at the beginning of the 13th century. A comparison of the situation before and after 1250 speaks in favour of this explanation. If we hide all the texts from the second half of the 13th century and later, the map showing occurrences of “2” with *o* looks like this:



Figure 15: “2” with medial *o* (until ca. 1250)

Compared with the first map in this subchapter showing all the texts, the difference in frequency is considerable. There is a very unclear hint that the usage of *o* might be more consistent in the East at first. In the map above, for instance, all the eastern texts except for one have *o*, while the majority of the Western ones do not. Unfortunately, the amount of available data seems to be too low to verify such a hypothesis. The implication for further analysis of D is that *o* in some of the examined words seems to have been comparatively rare at the time when D was copied.

4.2.3.2 The forms with *a*

The distribution of the forms with *a* also appears to plausibly reflect the development discussed in the previous section, i.e. the gradual switch from *a* to *o* in spelling. Again, it is worth noting that there are marked differences in frequency of the *a*-forms of individual lexemes. “Strong” is by far the least common one appearing only in a handful of texts. The distribution of “2” appears irregular at first sight; however, a comparison of the relatively earlier and later texts again reveals the tendency of replacing *a* with *o*. The maps for “not” are more or less similar. “Nomore” beginning in *na-* is even more frequent than “2” and “not”. However, the tendency of switching to *o* does not seem to be present in this case. In fact, the few texts having *o* mostly come from the 1st half of the 13th century. Also, there exist a few variants in *ne-* and *nu-*.

A plausible explanation of the results is that the *o* in “strong” was substituted very early, while the same for “2” and “not” happened later.

4.2.3.3 Sharing

Kentish forms

All the forms appearing in D except “loth” (the lexeme is not present in the text), “on” and “no” in *o*- can be found in MS Arundel 57. The presence of the forms in *o* is not surprising, which cannot be said about the forms with *a*, especially in the case of “strong”, where the *a*-form seems to be rather archaic even for D (according to the maps). “Not” and “nomore” in *a* are also found in MS Laud Misc 471. Unfortunately, the lexemes “strong” and “2” do not appear in the text at all. In order to obtain more evidence, extra searches for more *a*-forms in the Kentish texts were performed, namely *a*-forms of the lexemes “stone”, “bone”, “more”, “foe”, “hand” and “land”. The hits comprised *a*-forms of “hand” and “land” found in Arundel 57 but not in Laud or D. Similarly to “strong”, these lexemes originally had a short /a/, which was later affected by lengthening. This would speak in favour of the hypothesis that the *a*-spelling in the case of “strong” (which was also originally short) is not necessarily typical of Kent but rather of the spelling in Arundel 57.

Affinities with T

D shares the majority of forms in this group with T, although the actual instances of the words in the text do not always correspond to each other. For instance, the lexeme “loth” has four occurrences in T but eight in D. D sometimes has “not” beginning in *no*- where T has *na*-. Still, the usage of *a* vs. *o* follows a similar pattern. It is the forms which are not shared that appear to be more interesting in this case. These include the *a*-forms of “behátan” and “strong”. The intriguing thing about the simultaneous presence of *strang* (“strong”) and *hot* (“beha:tan”) in D (and their absence from T) is that while both forms are comparatively rare, the new *o* in *hot* seems to be quite a progressive feature while *strang* might have been rather archaic at the time when D was copied. Considering the fact that D also has *strong* as well as the absence of *hot* from all the remaining *PM* manuscripts, the likely explanation is that the exemplar had *a* in both cases. The general tendency of the scribe was to replace *a* with *o*, but he left the *a* in *strang* unchanged. The possibility that the scribe of T changed *a* to *o* in at least in some cases cannot be excluded. Unless this is so, the presence of *strang* in D would suggest different exemplars or an additional layer of copying between the common source and T.

Affinities with M

Though the majority of forms are present in both texts, a specific variant in one text does not always correspond to the same one in the other. The spellings in M are generally more consistent.

4.2.4 Forms of lexemes with OE short /a/

This category also displays an alternation of *a* and *o* in spelling but the OE forms of the lexemes were written with a short *a*. The prevalent variant in D is *o*, the only exception is “thank”. The maps for the *o*-forms of “woe”, “own”, “nothing” and “know” look similar to the first group of maps in the previous category. The map for “woe” is presented below:

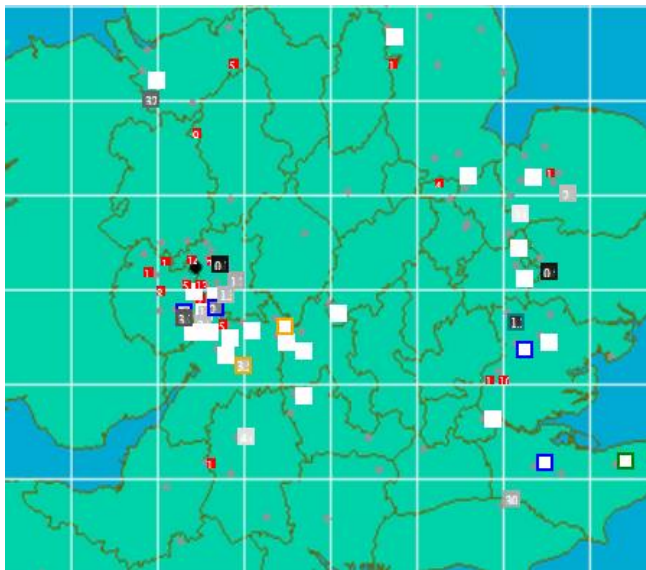


Figure 16: "Woe" with medial o

There is an imperfect South-West – North-East division. Most of the South West Midland texts with *o*'s come from the 2nd half of the 13th century. MS Stowe differs from the surrounding texts in having *a*'s, which is the older variant.

The maps for “thank” are more interesting.

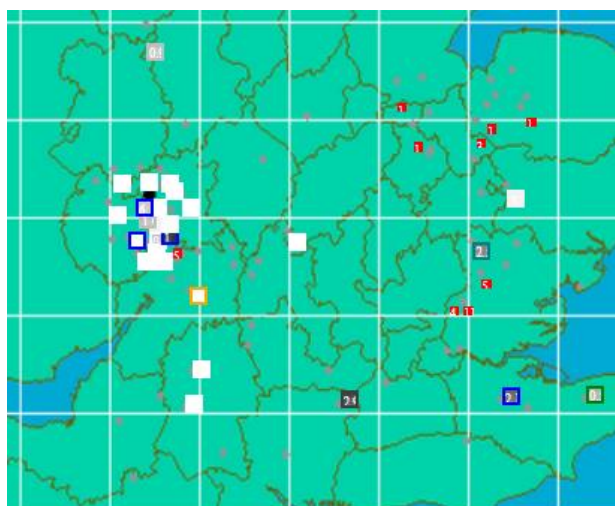


Figure 18: “Thank” with medial *o*

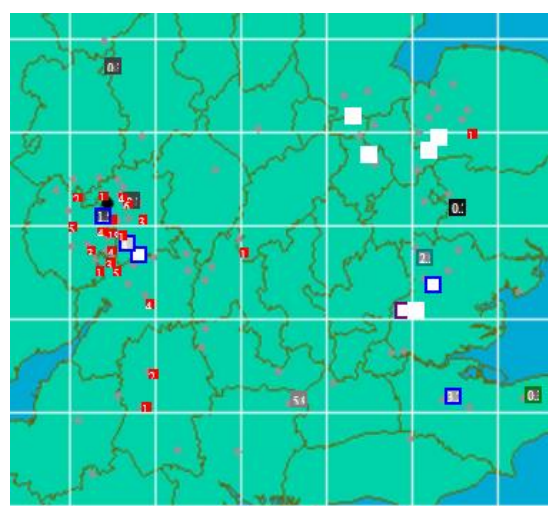


Figure 17: “Thank” with medial *a*

The first map shows the occurrences of *o* and the second the occurrences of *a*. D has both variants (3 *a* against 2 *o*, one of which in a rhyming position). The *o*-form appears to be typical of the West Midlands, similarly to other words with /a/ before a nasal (for instance, “man”), while *a* is more common in the East and the occurrences in the West Midlands are restricted almost exclusively to the manuscripts containing the *PM*. The fact that the *a* in EeL is highly unusual for the West Midlands justifies the assumption that the original also had *a*. If the original were indeed a South-Eastern text same as D, the *o*-forms in D seem rather surprising, since there is no apparent reason to change the local variant. The presence of *o* in Arundel might suggest that *o* was used in Kent. The presence of *o* in the exemplar seems improbable but cannot be excluded. Yet another explanation might be that the scribe was used to substituting *o* for *a* and performed the replacement mechanically.

The preposition “on” written as *on* appears almost everywhere except the Kentish MSs Laud and Arundel.

4.2.4.1 Sharing

Kentish forms

The forms shared with the Kentish texts include the *o*-forms of “nothing”, “own”, and “woe” and both variants of “thank” mentioned above. The only form which is completely absent from both Kentish texts is the preposition “on” written as *on*. This element is not in agreement with the current localisation.

Affinities with T

D shares with T all the forms except the *o*-form of “thank”. The presence of both variants of “thank” in the *TH* suggests that the scribe did not normally replace the forms and *a* was the variant in the archetype of T. The question of how the *o*-forms of “thank” in D originated has been discussed above (section 4.2.4).

Affinities with M

The pattern of sharing is very similar to the one applying to the Kentish texts. The forms in M have *o* but the form *on* of “on” is a marginal variant in M. Also, M is consistent in spelling “thank” with *o* and all the *o*-forms are in accordance with its localisation and dating (earlier West Midland texts have *a*). Similarly to the development of /æ/ into /e/, there are no divergences from the expected pattern, which would suggest a shared exemplar.

4.2.5 The dropping of initial *h* and *h*-insertion

All the items in this category are instances of an excrescent *h* in D. Since the category originally comprised three items only (“a:gan”, “eat”, and “out-”), a search for more material was performed (in order to verify to what extent these instances might be random) and eight more instances of an excrescent *h* were identified (“own”, “ield”, “ae:ht”, “un-”, “ge-”, “earfoþ”, “eorre”, “erethat”). The last three forms are all single occurrences and the remaining eight in the group are very rare. Only two of them appear in the other MSs of the *PM* – *helde* (“ield”) in L and *hope* (“own”) in E. These instances do not correspond to the excrescent *h* in D.

With the exception of single occurrences, the forms with an inserted *h* all appear only once alongside forms with no *h*. There is no conspicuous concentration of these forms in the text, the first one appears somewhere around line 50 and the last one around line 350. The rarity and distribution of the forms strongly oppose the possibility that the insertion might be a systematic practice with the copyist. The examination of the words directly preceding the *h* suggests no conditioning by the sound of the previous segment.

The situation is even more complicated due to the fact that we have no clues suggesting whether the scribe of D copied the excrescent *h*’s from a lost exemplar or whether he introduced them himself. In the former case, the *h*-insertion might have been a systematic practice for the scribe of the exemplar.

As for the motivation of the insertions regardless of which scribe is responsible for them, a relevant connection between the concerned lexemes might be their low incidence. This

may account for the possibility that the scribe failed to recognize them in some contexts and either forgot to delete the *h*'s introduced by his predecessor or inserted them. The former explanation is perhaps more plausible because the latter would require the forms with *h* to make sense, which is definitely not always the case.

If the exemplar of D had at least 8 instances of *h*-insertion, it is curious that none of them was copied by the literatim scribe of T.

4.2.6 Elision of L

The elision of /l/ concerns a very small number of lexemes. There are only five lexemes available for an analysis: “such”, “each”, “evereach”, “which” and “much”. There is only one instance of “much” which retains the *l* in the whole corpus and it appears in T. D has no instance of l-retention at all.

4.2.6.1 The maps

The distribution of forms follows a regular pattern exemplified by the following map that shows the distribution of forms of “each” with *l*.

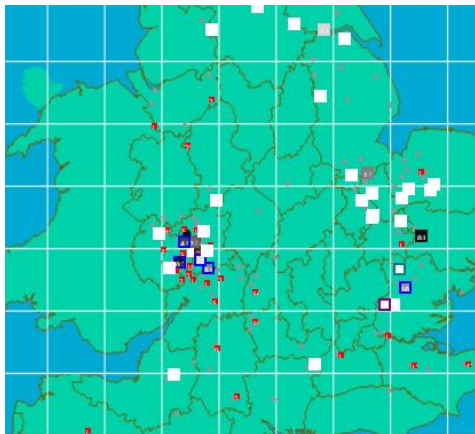


Figure 19: “Each” with medial *l*

The gap between the two southern texts displaying l-retention and the rest reflects diachronic rather than diatopic differences, the two texts being older than the more northern ones. The results also show that versions of the *PM* with l-retention include TEe and in some cases also L and J.

4.2.6.2 Sharing

The analysis of this category is very simple. D shares its forms with an elided *l* with all the pre-selected texts except T, MS Stowe and the above mentioned versions TEe (LJ) of the

PM. Provided that l-dropping spread from the South or South-East, the absence of forms with *l* in *D* support its localisation in LAEME.

If the exemplar of *D* contained forms with the *l* retained, the scribe of *D* changed them. An interesting feature of *T* is the mixing of forms in the case of “each”. There are 9 forms with *l* and initial *e*, 3 forms without *l* and initial *e* and 4 forms without *l* and initial *a*. This slightly diverges from the expected situation since MS *Stowe*, which is a later text placed south of *T*, retains *l* in all the instances of “each”. Moreover, the *Trinity Homilies* copied by the scribe of *T* universally retain *l* and have initial *e*’s or *i*’s but not *a*’s. A logical explanation would be that the exemplar of *T* contained some forms of “each” without *l*.

4.2.7 Disappearance of the diphthong /e:o/ (/eo/)

According to previous research, the diphthong was no longer pronounced at the beginning of the 13th century, so we are in fact dealing only with spelling here. Nearly all of the lexemes which had the long diphthong in OE have *ie* in *D*, there are only three exceptions, all having the digraph *eo* (“fiend”, “devil” and “see”). Both *ie* (4) and *eo* (2) also appear in words with an original short /eo/. The remaining lexemes in this group have *e* and “work” (noun) has mixed *e* and *o*.

4.2.7.1 The forms with *eo*

The examined forms include: *feond* (“fiend”), *deoflen* (“devil”), two instances of *iseon* (“see”) (from the long /e:o/) and *eorles* (“earl”) (from the short /eo/). The form *deorlinges* (“darling”) is not discussed because of the low incidence of the lexeme. The maps are of a particular interest here. See the example of *eo* in “devil”:

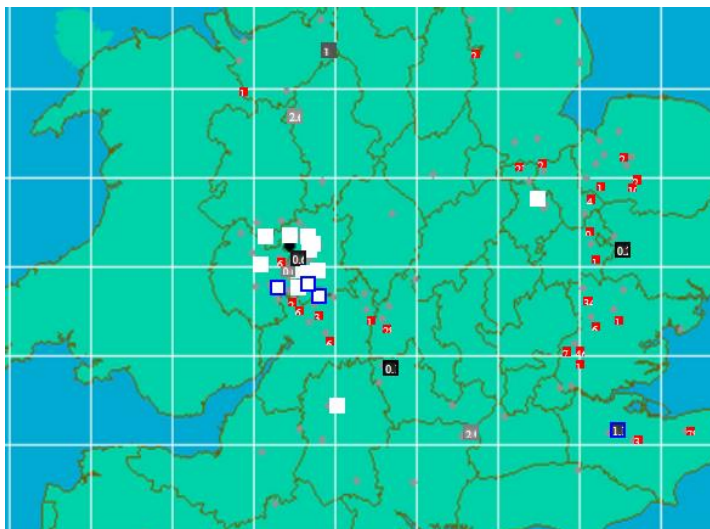


Figure 20: “Devil” in deo-

The one instance *deoflen* found in D is relatively isolated and we find the same pattern with “fiend” and “see”. Nevertheless, it is important to notice the lack of texts close to D that contain the concerned lexemes. If we search for any forms containing *eo*, the picture is quite different:



Figure 21: The spelling *eo*

Perhaps the first thing to notice is the frequent use of *eo* in MS Cotton Vitellius A VIII and a *Royal Proclamation of Henry III* (Kew, The National Archives, C66/73 (Patent Roll 43 Henry III), membr. 15 item 40), localised in the London area, and possibly the *Benedictine Rule* (London, British Library, Cotton Claudius D iii), placed in Hampshire. The high incidence of *eo* in all of these texts, which are approximately contemporary with D, might suggest that the spelling was still current in the region at the beginning of the 13th century. However, the notes in LAEME state that the languages of MS Cotton Vitellius and the *Benedictine Rule* are very close to OE, while the localisation of the London text is somewhat unreliable. Also, the relative frequency of *eo* in MS Stowe localised in Essex is significantly lower (ca. 5 instances per 4,000 words against ca. 250 in the more Southern texts).

We may assume that the disappearance of *eo* from spelling was under way in the South-East around the beginning of the 13th century. Evidence in favour of such a supposition includes the radically different incidence in the contemporary texts and the fact that the usage was restricted to certain lexemes with a historical *eo*. The three texts where it is frequently used are more conservative and represent a relatively earlier stage of development in comparison with D. The five instances of *eo* in D were probably copied from the exemplar. The fact that the disappearance of the digraph was a relatively recent change for the scribe of D could account for the fact that the forms were not completely unfamiliar to him and that he may have decided

to keep them. The fact that the *eo*-forms are mixed with different variants fits the usual pattern (exemplar forms are occasional).

4.2.7.2 The forms with *ie*

The development of /e:o/ into /je/ was listed among the changes restricted to Kent, but the maps suggest that it affected Essex as well. The only lexemes which never occur in Essex with the *ie* spelling are “new” and “sick”, however, these lexemes originally had the short diphthong; *niepe* is a single occurrence in D and “sick” in *sie-* is found in just one more text in the whole corpus. “Forbid” has one instance in MS Stowe only. Except for the single occurrence *niepe*, there does not seem to be a big difference between the *ie* descended from the long /e:o/ and those from the short /eo/. Most of the forms can be found in T, MS Stowe or both. Unfortunately, texts localised in the London area do not contain most of the examined lexemes at all, which complicates the verification of whether there are gaps in the dialect continuum. The only map usable for this purpose is the following one:

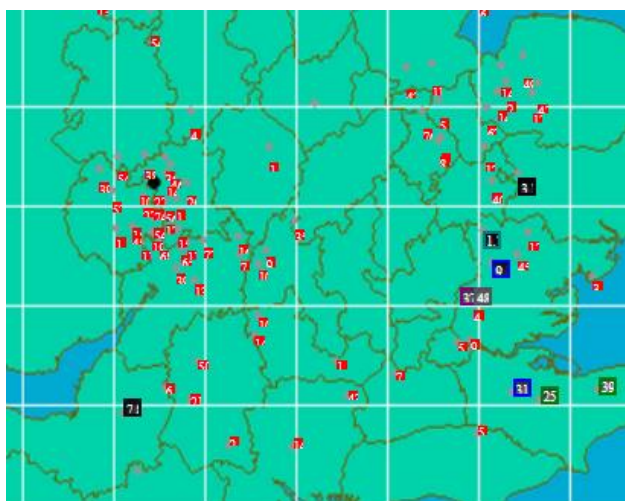


Figure 22: “Be” in *bie-*

The map displays the occurrences of “be” in *bie-*. There are three texts which break the dialect continuum. *A Prisoner’s Prayer* (London, Corporation of London Records Office, Guildhall, *Liber de antiquis Legibus*) and *Vices and Virtues* (London, British Library, Stowe 34, entry 4) have *e* and the *Proclamation of Henry III* (Kew, The National Archives, C66/73 (Patent Roll 43 Henry III), membr. 15 item 40) has the old *eo* spelling. As far as we know, the use of *eo* is probably no more than an instance of conservative spelling. The explanation in the case of *e* is more problematic. Still, a possible explanation might be that London was the meeting point of dialects and the writings localised there may miss some of the expected

regional features. Thus, we may assume that /eo/ developed into /je/ at least in Southern Essex as well as Kent.

The maps for the forms with *e* or *o* show no clear pattern worth describing.

4.2.7.3 Sharing

Kentish forms

As MS Laud Misc does not contain a half of the examined lexemes, there are only three lexemes whose forms are shared by all the three Kentish texts, namely “be”, “devil” and “forbid” – these are the only lexemes in MS Laud Misc having the spelling *ie*. In Arundel, the spelling is used also in “dear”, “geornan”, “see”, “thief” and “þeoster”, some of the lexemes do not appear in the text at all and “new” and “heart” (from the short diphthong) have *e* (the last point also applies to Laud Misc). Since both Arundel and Laud Misc are later texts than D, it is possible that the diphthong in the last two lexemes had been simplified by the time when they were written. The evidence supporting the view that *ie* was a Kentish form seems quite convincing. Still, the results do not exclude the south of Essex as a possible location of D.

Exemplar forms

T shares nine items with the *ie* spelling with D (“be”, “dear”, “deer”, “dréogan”, “glee”, “heart”, “léof”, “see” (infinitive), “thief”). Unfortunately, four of these are single occurrences, which excludes the possibility of mixing of forms. “Dear” occurs only twice and both instances have *ie* in D as well as T. The occurrences of “be”, “heart” and “léof” are similar in that the *ie* spelling in D is more consistent. There are 30 instances of *bie*- (mixed with a greater number of *be*- and *bi*-), only one instance of *herte* plus three instances of *hierte* and four instances of *lief*-. T has only nine instances of *bie*-, one instance of *hierte* against three instances of *herte*. “Léof” as a lexeme is twice as frequent as in D and four of the eight instances have *ie* but only three of them correspond to the occurrences in D. This pattern does not apply to the infinitive of “see”. T is more consistent in this case (7 instances, all in *sie*-), albeit D has only one *e*-spelling against five spellings in *sie*-.

A striking thing about the *ie*-spelling is that out of the examined items, only “flee” and “léof” appear in the other *PM* manuscripts with this digraph. There is one instance of *lief* in *lie*- and one instance of *bi-flien* in L. (The use of the digraph in the latter lexeme is extremely rare and the only three occurrences in the whole corpus appear in D, L and the *TH*. This seems interesting because of the hypothetical connection between the *TH*, *Lambeth Homilies* and the *PM*.) An additional search for more reflects of OE /eo/ spelled as *ie* revealed two more single

occurrences, both in J (“léogan” and “wreón”). “Léogan” in this form appears also in TD. The occurrences of *ie* in TD and the occasional presence of *ie* in three other manuscripts in connection with the fact that *ie* was probably the regional form current in Essex and Kent might suggest (but not necessarily) that the form appeared in soem quantity at least in one of the lost copies earlier than T and D. The scribes of T and D kept it because it was a part of their active repertoire, while it probably seemed alien to the copyists from the West Midlands (if present in their exemplars), who systematically replaced all the occurrences except for the four enumerated above.

As for the digraph *eo*, although it has four instances in T, the usage is restricted to the pronoun *eop*, which in turn does not appear in D. In theory, the digraph might have been frequently used in the hypothetical shared exemplar and each scribe (T, D) might have copied different instances of it. Such an assumption is problematic because it fails to explain why the scribe of T apparently deleted multiple instances of *eo* in T and decided to keep the digraph in 59 instances of 18 different lexemes when copying the *Trinity Homilies*. An alternative explanation would be to modify the hypothesis that there was a direct shared exemplar for T and D.

Affinities with M

M contains no instance of *ie* and 55 instances of *eo* restricted to four lexemes. The majority are forms of “be” and “see” and there are two single occurrences in “sea” and “glee” (both lexemes appear only once in M). We can see that the instances of *eo* in M are of a different character than those in D, which has occasional occurrences in 5 different lexemes. The relative consistency of the usage and some evidence for the presence of the forms in the area where M is placed provide reasonable support for the assumption that they are regional forms. This, of course, does not exclude the possibility that the exemplar of M had *eo* spellings.

4.2.8 Disappearance of the diphthong /éa/ (ea)

This category originally comprised 5 items and was expanded to 24. All the occurrences of *ea* in D except *feald* (“fold”) (from the short /ea/) are mixed with different forms of the same lexeme except “sceaft” (short) and “stream” (long), which appear only once in the text. The usual substitute for *ea* is *e*. Exceptions include “few” (long), “hold” and “wealdan” (short) with a medial *ia*. We can see that the *ia* appears both for the long and the short diphthong.

4.2.8.1 The forms with *ea* on the map

A striking feature of the maps here is that many of the researched forms are quite rare. In fact, only “death” (short) is present in more than twenty texts, “old” (short) approximately in fifteen, “few” (long), “hold” (short) and “stream” (long) in ten and the remaining forms are even less frequent. “Eye” (short) with initial *ea* is found in two texts only and “high” (short) in four, two of which are D and e. Most of the forms can be found at least in some Essex texts including T, versions e and E of the *PM* and a few more texts in the West Midlands. The text of the *Benedictine Rule* mentioned in the previous section has a substantial number of *ea* spellings but most of the examined lexemes are not present in it. All these recurrent features are visible on the map below showing the occurrences of “hold” spelled with *ea*.

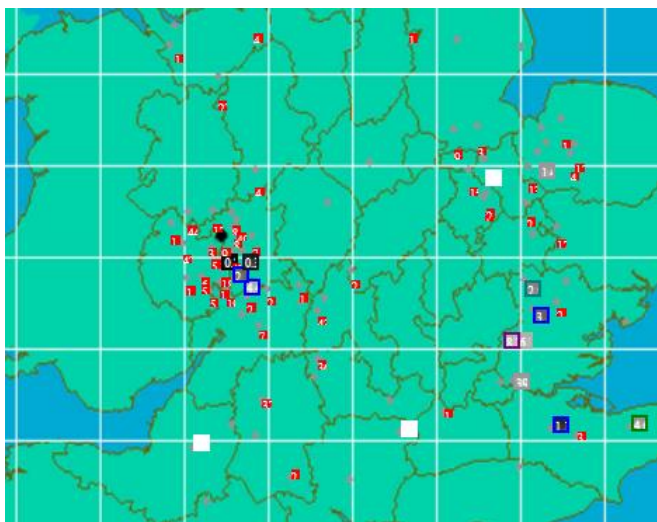


Figure 23: “hold” in -*hea*-

Judging by the presence of *ea* in some of the lexemes and by its absence in others, the loss of the digraph *ea* seems to have been in progress in the South-East at the beginning of the 13th century. A comparison of maps showing either older or newer texts confirms this tendency. Drawing conclusions regarding localisation of D from the data briefly described above is complicated by the fact that MS Laud Misc is 50-100 years later than D and the MSs placed in the London area are too short. This leaves us with a very unclear idea of the progression of the change and the situation in North East Kent around 1200. Perhaps the best clue which the maps provide is a certain inconsistency in the differences between D and other texts. The digraph *ea* in some lexemes of D appears less often than in the Essex texts (“hold”, “old”) but it is, at the same time, retained in lexemes in which it rarely occurs at all (“fold”, “eye”). This makes exemplar influence a very likely explanation (to be discussed below (section 4.2.8.3)).

4.2.8.2 Alternative forms: *e* (*a*) and *ia* (*ie*)

There is no predominant shared pattern on the maps in this group. The least complicated instances are *viape* (“few”) and *vialdeð* (“wealdan”), which are found in D only, plus the *hia*-form of “hold” restricted to the three Kentish texts. These should reflect the unique Kentish /ja/ discussed in the theoretical part. Contrarily, “high” with *e* appears almost everywhere, which makes it useless. “Less”, “death” and possibly “bread” with *e* are also quite common. Still, there is a certain pattern in that their forms with *e* are absent from the Essex texts, while versions EJLM of the *PM* localised in the West Midlands use the variant consistently.

4.2.8.3 Sharing

Kentish forms

D shares only two forms from this category with MS Laud Misc, namely “few” with a medial *ea* and “hold” with *ia*. Both appear also in Arundel 57, which also has “hold” with *ea* /*ia*, “bread” with *ea* and “old” written as *ald*. The only form which does not simultaneously appear in Essex is “hold” with *ia*, which never appears outside Kent. It has been mentioned that D has *ia* for OE *ea* also in “wealdan” and “few”, and that these particular forms should be typical of Kent. Further analysis showed that D has *ia* also in “behold” and “wealh” and that there are more instances of *ia* in the Kentish texts, although they appear in different lexemes than the same digraph in D. These lexemes include mainly “dead” (47), “death” (30), “deadly” (16) and “belief” (6), plus other lexemes having under 5 occurrences.

There is little doubt that the occurrences of *ia* point to the Kentish provenance of D. The fact that the forms are mixed does not necessarily contradict it, since this applies to all the three Kentish texts. One of the reasons for the inconsistency and the occurrence of the digraph in different lexemes might be that the actual diphthong might have been close to /ea/, with a rather closed /e/, and the copyists felt that *ea* more or less reflected the actual pronunciation.

A more puzzling thing is that D shares none of its *e*-forms with the other two Kentish texts. Though the concerned lexemes are few, namely “death”, “old”, “bread” and “tear”, their presence should be noted.

Affinities with T

The list of forms shared with T includes mainly the forms with *ea*. All the forms with *ea* in D were located in the text and compared with T. This analysis showed that a vast majority of corresponding forms in T also have *ea*, although the two compared forms are not always

identical. Exceptions to this tendency comprise *seafte* and *reauing*, which have *a* in T, and one instance of *heage* and *eaðe*, which have no counterparts in T.

The results may suggest a shared exemplar – especially in the case of “few”, “-fold” and “wealdan”, which stick out a little if we compare their frequency with texts localised nearby. Another argument for exemplar provenance is the presence of some of the forms in the other MSs of the *PM*. Also, there is a noticeable tendency towards a slightly higher consistency in T as compared with D. This could indicate that the exemplar had a more or less consistent *ea*, which the scribe of T copied and which the scribe of D sometimes replaced with a different form. Still, there are three forms missing in T which contradict the hypothesis of a direct common source, namely the *ea* in “eye”, “high” and “sceaft”. The data in the corpus suggest that *ea* in these particular lexemes was abandoned earlier than in most of the other words. Still, it is the scribe of D who kept the forms unchanged, while the supposedly literatim T replaced them, if the two versions were indeed copied from the same source. This pattern is reminiscent of the *eo*-spellings retained in D.

Affinities with M

D shares none of the analysed *ea*-forms with M. There are five instances of *e* forms and “hold” written as *hield*. While the *e* spelling is common in the West Midlands, *hield* is a very rare form restricted to seven texts in LAEME, three of which are MTD. The curious thing about the actual occurrence of *hield* in M is that the corresponding line is not to be found in any of the six remaining copies.

One form of “death” written as *diabe* was found in M by accident (when examining the maps for various *ia*-forms). This is curious, since *ia* is, presumably, a distinctively Kentish form and the map in LAEME bears out this assumption (it occurs in three texts only – M + Arundel and Laud). Since the same variant is not found in D, we would have to postulate a lost Kentish archetype if we wanted to explain the occurrence by exemplar influence. Obviously, a single occurrence is definitely insufficient as a basis for such a hypothesis, still, the evidence becomes more interesting in connection with the marked initial voicing in M which could also be partly explained by exemplar influence.

4.2.9 Other forms with *ie*

The spelling *ie* in D and T appears also in five lexemes which do not have OE forms with *eo* or *ea*, namely “gift”, “here”, “hear” and “yet”. All are comparatively rare forms. Although we have no attested OE forms with *ie*, the distribution follows the pattern of the *ie*-

forms developed from *eo*. Besides D, the forms regularly appear in T and MS Stowe (except “gift”) and MS Arundel (except “gift” and “yet”).

4.2.10 The development of OE /y/ and /y:/'

This group originally comprised six items but four more were added in order to obtain a more complete picture of the variation of *u* and *e* in MT. The low number of the items for analysis is presumably due to the early date of the change of /y:/ into /e:/, which prevents extensive variation around 1200 and later. The forms in D are in accordance with the expected situation. *e* is the universal variant in all the examined forms except one instance of “spring” and “since”, respectively, both spelled with *i*.

4.2.10.1 The maps

The maps generally confirm the expected distribution of *e*, which appears in the South-East. Deviations from the pattern are slight, occurrences in the West Midland region being restricted to six texts, each having the *e* in one or two lexemes. M is one of these texts. See the map of “sin” in *se-* for an illustration:



Figure 24: “Sin” in *se-*

The following map shows the instances of *sin-* (“since”):

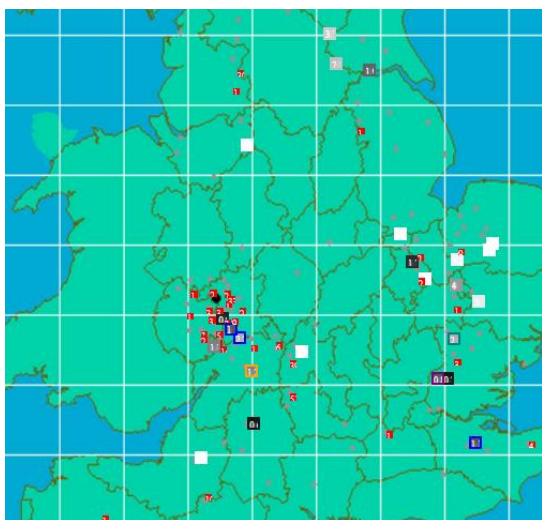


Figure 25: "Since" in *sin-*

First, the colour of D on the map indicates that the form is mixed with different variants. The form is found neither in T nor Arundel but it has some occurrences in MS Stowe. It is rare in the West Midland region, most of the instances being in EeM. If we disregard the occurrences in the *PM* manuscripts, we may identify a rough tendency for *i* to be found in the North, which corresponds with the expected historical development of /y/ found in OE “syþþan”. The instances of “spring” in *spri-* share this pattern of distribution, although the lexeme is considerably less frequent, which makes the evidence less reliable.

4.2.10.2 Sharing

Kentish forms

All of the lexemes found in the Kentish texts share the *e*-forms with D. This is hardly surprising. As the variant *e* for /y/ is not restricted to Kent, the evidence cannot make localisation of D more precise, but it strongly supports its placement in the South-East.

The forms which are not shared are the two *i*-forms. Unfortunately, there is no instance of “spring” in the Kentish texts and “since” is found in Arundel only. Still, the forms do not seem to be typical of Kent but rather of a more northern region.

Affinities with T

The results in this category are somewhat less straightforward than in the previous one. Although *e* is the prevalent variant in T, there are also instances of *u*. “Guilt”, “fire” and “buy” (infinitive and present tense forms) have a consistent *u* and the forms of “cýþan” and “spring” have one instance of *u* each.

This is a slightly surprising finding because according to the consulted literature, the change of /y/ into /e/ in the South East should have been completed before the Norman

Conquest, i.e. before the supposed date of the original composition. Thus, we may assume that if the Original indeed was a post-Conquest South Eastern text, the scribe employed rather archaic spellings. Alternatively, there might have been a West Midland exemplar somewhere between the Original and T.

As for the comparison with the *Trinity Homilies*, all the enumerated lexemes also appear with *u* at least once but there is a perceptible tendency in the *TH* to use *i* or *y* instead of *e*. This means that the *TH* has all the three major variants, i.e. *u*, *e* and *i*. The differences between the *TH* and T appears marked enough to support the hypothesis that the scribe was a literatim copyist and, consequently, that the forms in T are exemplar forms which the scribe of D presumably replaced, if it was copied from the same source.

Affinities with M

M shares with D the *e*-forms of “kin”, “sin” and “spring”, and also the *i*-form of “since”. These forms appear to contradict the placement of M in the West Midlands. See the map for “sin” spelled as *sen-* for an illustration:

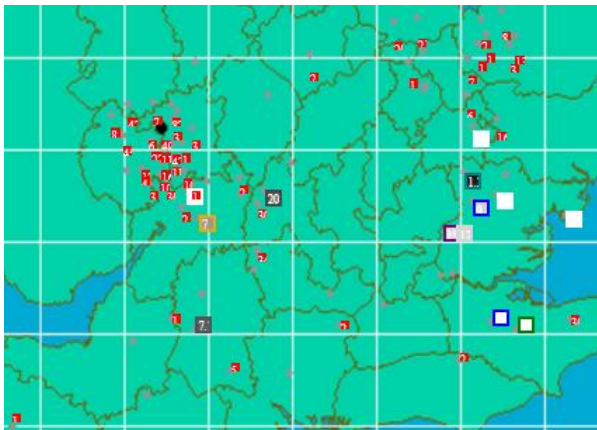


Figure 26: “sin” in *sen-*

The *e*-forms are always mixed with the *u*-spellings, which is the regional form for M, occurring more often than in T. All the *u*-forms in T correspond to *u*-forms in M as to the specific lexemes in which they appear. In the case of mixed forms (“buy” and “spring”) the actual instances of the *u*-variants appear at the same places in the text in M and T although the forms sometimes differ in other features. These almost perfect correspondences might be a concrete example of a connection between M and T mentioned in the theoretical part (section **Chyba! Nenalezen zdroj odkazů.**).

4.2.11 The rise of the diphthongs /ou, au/ from /og, ag/

This group comprises 4 items only. All forms in D have the older form spelled with \bar{o} . The only pre-selected text which has any newer variants is T.

4.2.11.1 The maps

The map for “own”, which is the most frequent lexeme in this group, shows the following distribution:

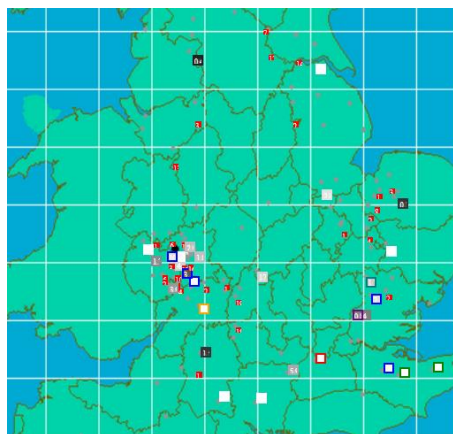


Figure 27: “own” without the diphthong /ow/

The colour of T on the map indicates that the majority of the forms have the older variant, while the remaining Essex texts have a greater number of forms with the new diphthong. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Additional E.6, entry 1, which is the latest text from this region, displays the new version only. All the three Kentish texts remain perfectly consistent in having a/o \bar{o} . The only *PM* manuscript with a consistent a/ow is J; E is mixed and the remaining versions have the older forms. Otherwise, the progression of the change is not very clear from the map. The map for “own” with the diphthong seems to be more useful in this respect, especially if we display only texts from a specific period:

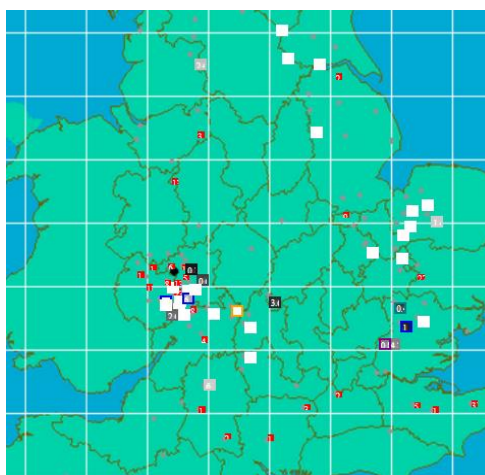


Figure 28: “Own” with the diphthong /ow/ (until 1250) Figure 29: “Own” with the diphthong /ow/ (all texts)

The first map above shows the situation in the 1st half of the 13th century and before, and the second one shows all the available texts. According to the first map, the change was probably in progress in Essex already around 1200. Occurrences of the diphthong in the West Midlands are scarce. As for the second map, there are two points worth mentioning. First, the change appears to have spread North but not South, i.e. in Kent. This is important with respect to D. Second, the absence of the new forms from version M contradicts the regional trend, since all the surrounding texts except one have the new diphthong in all the instances of “own”.

4.2.11.2 Sharing

The examined change appears to be another useful indicator, distinguishing between the dialects of Essex and Kent and supporting the localisation of D in the latter region (if we exclude a more distant location, such as the West Midlands or a more Northern region). There is nothing more to be said about Kentish forms in the category.

Affinities with T

T shares none of its newer forms with D. Nevertheless, the presence of the new forms in T might suggest something about its exemplar. An interesting thing, which has been mentioned in the section dealing with spelling (section 4.1.1.1), is that three of the four examined lexemes have the new form written with the letter *w*, which is extremely rare in the MS. Considering the relatively low frequency of the examined items (“own” (8), 2 instances of each of the three remaining lexemes), this might not be a coincidence. Supposing that the form was not found in the exemplar, a hypothetical explanation could be that the scribe of T introduced the new forms in the text and used a new grapheme at the same time. However, this explanation is not very plausible because the scribe made no such changes in the *Trinity Homilies*, which does have some instances of the new forms represented by *wynn* or *ue* (the latter also in T). Furthermore, all the concerned forms except *fueles* (“fowl”, pl.) appear in a relatively short passage, while the older versions of the same lexemes, especially “own”, are found elsewhere. If we presuppose exemplar provenance, the presence of the single instances of *owen* (“own”) and *mowe* (“maég”) as opposed to the older variants is explicable by their appearance in the rhyming position. Hypothetically, the decision of the scribe to keep the forms unchanged might also account for the multiple instances of *w* in the line directly following the rhyme:

Ne bie þe leuere þan þe-self ne þi mæi ne þi mowe

Sot is þe is oðer mannes frend betere þan his owen.

Ne hopie wif to hire werene were to his wiue... (LAEME)

If true, the explanation would imply that (a) the exemplar of T had at least some instances of the new diphthongs /au, ou/; (b) the exemplar of T contained the letter *w*; and (c) the scribe of T had the tendency to keep words in rhyming position unchanged even if the consistent replacement preserved the rhyme (“own” and “máge” in the older forms would rhyme anyway).

If the exemplar characterized above was also the archetype of D, no sign was left of the forms with the diphthong or the unusual spelling. In fact, the two lines ending with “own”-“máge” and one of the instances of “draw” are not found in D at all.

Affinities with M

The fact that the forms in M are apparently archaic for the given region and time, as was previously pointed out (section 4.2.11.1), might suggest that they were taken from the exemplar. Still, there is no explicit evidence of a common archetype for D and M since the *ag/og*-forms are the usual variant for most of the extant MSs of the *PM*. Still, it seems reasonable to assume that the exemplar of M did not have /au, ou/ because the scribe would be likely to keep at least some of the forms.

4.2.12 The opposition of *i* and *e*

There is a category comprising 11 items in which the text of D has mostly consistent *i*’s, while the two other Kentish texts have *e*’s. The majority of the items have attested OE forms with *i*’s as well as *e*’s.

4.2.12.1 The maps

The general tendency is that the forms with *i* are clearly the prevalent variant, while the *e*-forms are found in a small number of texts. Let us examine the example of “before” (*bi*):

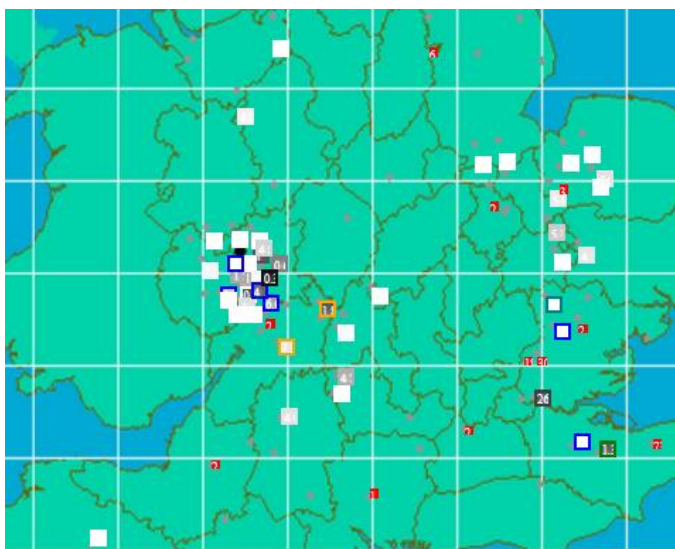


Figure 30: "Before" in bi-

The map shows that there is no clear regional tendency visible at first sight. Nevertheless, it is of some interest that while D and T have consistent *i*, Arundel has *e*, and Laud has mixed forms (most of the items have *e*, though). At the same time, the *i*-form is not found in MS Stowe. This is a recurrent pattern shared by most of the forms with only minor deviations, such as marginal forms in Stowe. "Bring" with *i* is found in all of the Essex texts available in the corpus. Thus, the clear preference for *i* in D does not fit the general pattern of Kent and South Essex.

4.2.12.2 Sharing

Kentish forms

It has been stated that D differs from the other two Kentish texts in having *i* rather than *e*. Still, the absence of *i* from the Kentish text is not a very convincing piece of evidence against the localisation of D. This is due to the uncertain value of the actual sound (both *i* and *e* are attested already in OE)

Exemplar forms

D shares with T all the *i*-forms of items with a historical *i/e*. The fact that these very forms rarely appear in the other Kentish texts speaks in favour of exemplar provenance. Still, there are noticeable differences between the forms previously identified as exemplar forms and the *i*-forms discussed here. Unlike with the other forms, the *i* is not a marginal spelling mixed with a more frequent variant. For that reason, the pattern does not seem to be in accordance with the characterization of the scribe as a quite consistent translator who only occasionally fails to replace a form. The explanation might be that the exemplar forms in this case were

much closer to what the scribe usually heard. The mixing of *i* and *e* in the attested OE forms as well as in the other South-Eastern texts might indicate that the actual sound was something between a closed /e/ and open /i/. This would explain why the scribes were uncertain about its representation. At the same time, it would account for the fact that the scribe of D perceived the *i*-spelling as equivalent to the sound and felt no need to replace it.

If this explanation is correct, it entails two things: first, the exemplar had *i* rather than *e*. Second, the scribe of D (or his predecessor) relied on his perception of the sound rather than the accustomed spelling, at least in this case.

Affinities with M

The *i*-forms seem to be common to all the *PM* manuscripts including M, which makes them useless as an indicator of possible relations between M and D.

4.2.13 Uncategorized forms

25 forms remained uncategorized based on phonological developments. In order to make their presentation more structured, they were divided into groups according to their co-occurrence in TDM.

4.2.13.1 Forms shared by T and D but not M

The definite article functioning as a premodifier of the subject in the singular is usually spelled with an initial *s-* in D. The scribe is fairly consistent in assigning the spelling to the determiner only in this particular function (the exception being two instances with an initial thorn). The map shows no clear regional tendency:

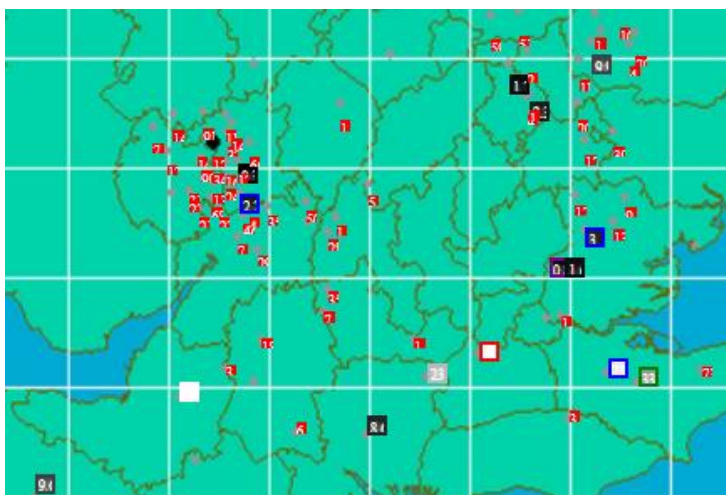


Figure 31: The definite article (premodifier of a singular subject) in *s-*

The *s*-forms appear in a small number of texts scattered across a relatively large territory. Still, there might be a temporal rather than regional pattern, most of the texts with *se*-dating from the 1st half of the 13th century (e.g. the previously mentioned *Benedictine Rule*, MS Vitellius, Stowe). Only three versions of the *PM* contain this form, namely DTe. D has the highest incidence (22 against 3 instances in T and 2 in e). This radical difference might be accounted for in two ways:

a) The scribe of D replaced the majority of forms in his exemplar with *s*-. The main argument in favour of this explanation is that the form is very rare in the other MSs of the *PM*. If the earliest copies had *s*-, the scribes must have been very thorough in replacing them, unless D came from a different exemplar than the rest. On the other hand, the form was probably being abandoned at the beginning of the 13th century and the scribe is likely to have been familiar with the newer version. It is therefore questionable, why he would have taken pains to replace the newer spelling with a more archaic one.

b) The *s*- forms prevailed in the archetype of D and the scribe copied them. This explanation would probably contradict the hypothesis of a shared exemplar for D and T, since the literatim scribe of T probably did not perform the substantial number of replacements.

“Worse” spelled as *perse* is found only in the East (with the exception of one West Midland MS). TD are the only MSs which spell the form with *e*, the West Midland versions of the *PM* have *u* and M (plus one occurrence in J) has no vowel at all.

4.2.13.2 The forms found in D and M but not T

The case of “Love” spelled as *louve* (as opposed to *luue*) is likely to be a matter of spelling. The former variant with *v* is clearly more frequent in later texts, which corresponds with the fact that *v* was a new addition to the inventory of *litterae*. The fact that the only MSs of the *PM* having the form are DM might point to a shared archetype, but the evidence is rather circumstantial.

The spelling *oper* of “other” in D alternates with (*b*)*opre*. There is no visible regional or temporal trend this time. Still, there are some differences in frequency in the individual *PM* manuscripts. M has the highest incidence of this form (8), followed by D (5) and e (4). E has 2 occurrences and TL have one each. At the same time, it seems unlikely that the scribe of T replaced the forms because the spelling *-re* is twice as common as in the *Trinity Homilies*. It is questionable to what extent the scribes of D and M might have introduced the forms, but the fact that *re*-forms in D are slightly less frequent than *-er* does not seem to support the assumption that the scribe tended to replace *-er* with *-re*. Thus, the relatively higher incidence

of these forms in DM might indicate a shared archetype not very distant from the two texts. An additional search revealed that D has the ending *-re* also in “never”, “old(er)”, “elder”, “young(er)” and “hunger”. The last two are very rare and D is the only MS of the *PM* containing these forms. “Never” with the ending in very common, appearing in all *PM* MSs except J and the instances of the remaining two lexemes are restricted to some of the MSs. “elder” appears in DMEeL and “old(er)” in DEeJ.

The last form shared by DM is “purfan” with initial *d*. This particular spelling appears only in 5 texts in the whole corpus. Therefore, the simultaneous appearance in MD, which are copies of the same text, might be due to a shared archetype rather than pure coincidence.

4.2.13.3 Forms shared by TMD

The map for *hi* (“P13%”) is vaguely reminiscent of the case of *se* (“T%”) discussed above (section 4.2.13.2) in that the form is rare in the *PM* manuscripts but its incidence in DM is noticeably higher (9 in D, 4 in M against 1 in each of the remaining MSs). Curiously, the form appears in all the three Kentish texts. Thus, it might be another example of a presumably Kentish form shared by D and M (along with *sigge*, *e* for /y/ and initial voicing).

The interesting thing about the forms of “as” in D is their marked dissimilarity to the forms in the remaining version of the *PM* as well as the two Kentish texts. The typical variant in D is *(al)spo*. The forms in the remaining texts differ either in having *a* instead of *o* (*spa*) or in missing the medial *p* (*ase*, *alse* or even *se*). The last type prevails in T (15 against 4 instances of *spo*).

4.2.13.4 The forms in D absent from TM

Forms in this group are generally very rare and appearances in the remaining versions of the *PM* are scarce (two forms appear in Ee, one in E and one in L). Simultaneous appearance of a form in the Kentish texts is much more common (3 forms in Laud, 2 in Arundel and 1 in both). The evidence for Kentish provenance seems to be the most reliable in the case of *hire* (“P23%”) and *si* (“TN”).

The case of “rue” with a medial *u* is interesting in that the lexeme in this form appears only in four texts in the whole corpus, three of them being DEe. The origin of this form in an ultimate common source, however distant it might be, is highly likely. It is curious that in all the three texts the word is part of an imperfect rhyme (*rupe-siepe* in D and *rupen-seopen* in Ee).

5 Conclusions

The primary aim of the present thesis was a) to analyse version D of the *Poema Morale* using the electronic tool known as the *Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English*, and b) present linguistic evidence that would support or contradict version D's present localisation, paying close attention to different layers of copying. A secondary objective consisted in clarifying the relations between D and two more versions of the same text, namely T and M. The working hypothesis based on the results of a previous study (Vaňková, 2015, unpublished study), that compared D to version L of the *PM*, was that the copyist of D spoke a Kentish dialect but some forms in the text actually come from an exemplar shared with T.

First of all, let us look at some pieces of evidence related to the localisation of D in Kent. According to the results, the placement of D in Kent seems to be reasonably well justified. The following passage discusses the most reliable indicators of the Kentish origin of the text.

The digraph *ia* appearing in words descended from OE *ea* is valuable in that it is found exclusively in Kent. The instances of *ia* in D are mixed with alternative variants, still, their incidence is comparable to the other Kentish texts only. The variant *e* for OE *æ* is almost universal (and very frequent) in D, which is a very important indicator of Kentish, rather than of Essex provenance. Similarly, the absence of diphthongs developed from /og, ag/ which seem to have first appeared in Essex also speaks in favour of Kentish provenance, although some more distant regions also had /og, ag/ at the time when D was copied.

The forms *sigge* ("say"), *si* ("TN") and *hire* ("P23G") are not a part of a larger group of lexemes having Kentish features, on the other hand, their occurrences are regionally highly restricted. The high proportion of forms with an initial voicing, which is unparalleled by any text except the Kentish anchor text Arundel 57, is also a strong argument for the present localisation. There were also forms supporting the localisation of D in a larger South-Eastern area, especially the spelling *ie* for OE *eo* and the variant *e* in words with OE /y/.

Forms contradicting the current localisation are scarce and provide rather weak evidence compared to the "Kentish" forms; nevertheless, they might be a part of a non-Kentish layer in the text. Specific pieces of evidence in this respect include the spelling *i* in several words where the Kentish texts have mostly *e* and the spelling *e* in words containing OE /ea/. The forms *on* (of "on") and the forms of "as" do not seem to be Kentish either.

The next point to be discussed are the relations of D to TM. A considerable number of the examined items proved to be useful as evidence suggesting specific connections between

versions DTM of the *PM*. In accordance with the principles presented in the theoretical part of the present study, these items were rather a collection of marginal forms than a unified set. As such, the individual forms were useless in isolation, since there is a number of explanations for their presence in the texts. However, if we consider all of them together, taking also into account the analysis of the *PM* manuscripts based on shared readings, the set of possible explanations becomes much more restricted.

First, it should be stated that there is some evidence for a common archetype of TD, for instance, the spelling *ea* is presumably too archaic to be introduced independently by the scribes, the single occurrences of *ii* in *wuniian* are not likely to be a coincidence and *ani* (“any”) appearing in both texts is a highly uncommon form. Likewise, there is some evidence for a common archetype of DM, such as the above mentioned *ani* (“any”), the extremely rare form *ai-* (“either”) or equally unusual *darf* (“þurfan”). A major obstacle in drawing any conclusions from the evidence is that we have no extant texts copied by the scribes of D and M, which leaves us with no clear idea of their dominant approach (literatim copying vs. translating).

There are also some features shared by TM, such as very rare instances of *w*, the unusual forms *ache* of “each”, or the appearance of *u* for OE /y/ in identical words. The identification of these similarities was a kind of side-product of the analysis and it seems likely that more could be found if it were intended.

The results presented so far speak in favour of the stemma presented by Moore and, in the case of TD, also of the older one constructed by Zupitza. It must be stressed that linguistic analysis alone cannot be used as a basis for a stemma, since identical linguistic features might have spread independently through different lines of copying depending on the dialects and scribal strategies of the copyists. Still, there were some rather unexpected results which could enable a more precise description of the relations between the individual versions. Specific pieces of evidence and their possible meaning are discussed in the following paragraphs.

The most important one is the presence of the following recurrent pattern: a marginal form in D, whose exemplar provenance is highly likely, is absent from T. Examples of this tendency include the older form with *eo* (from OE *eo*), which is a marginal form in D unlikely to have been introduced by the scribe, some forms with *ea* of similar nature or the apparently archaic form *strang* (“strong”) appearing alongside *strong* and other forms having *o* for OE *a*. The least complicated explanation of this would be that the scribe of T changed the form found in the shared archetype. However, previous studies suggest that the scribe was a literatim copyist and the results of the present thesis support this hypothesis as well.

An alternative explanation, which has been already mentioned, would be to postulate an extra layer of copying between the shared archetype of TD and T. It is worth mentioning that Moore (1930) posits an extra layer of copying between the common source and D, which would also correspond with the above described pattern. In spite of that, the two options are not completely equivalent.

It should be noted that the forms presumably copied from the common source of D and T include relatively “archaic” forms. If we ascribed the differences between D and T to an extra copy between the shared archetype and D, it would entail that the scribe of this copy introduced the forms which were not present in the shared source. On the other hand, an extra layer of copying for T would entail deletion of the archaic items on the part of the scribe. This is why the account proposed here seems more likely. It is worth mentioning that there is no clash between this hypothesis and Moore’s results. If the scribe of T was indeed literatim, his copy might be more or less identical to his exemplar, which would render the extra layer undetectable by Moore’s method. The extra layer of copying would also account for some more dissimilarities between T and D, such as the markedly higher incidence of *s-* (“TN”), *hi* (“P13”) and the *-re* ending in D. However, it must be pointed out that, compared with *eo* and *ea*, we cannot be so sure of what were the forms in the shared source.

As for the relations between D and M, several features potentially accounting for their similarity were identified. First, certain lexemes apparently underwent the same development in Kent (the location of D) and Gloucestershire (the location of M) – for instance, the development of OE /æ/ into /e/ or the variant *o* for OE *a*. In some cases, the developments were not simultaneous but the predicted forms are nevertheless the same due to the later date of M.

Another group of features suggests possible exemplar influence because the forms found in M do not seem to be typical of the region. This concerns the appearance of *e* instead of the typical *u* in words containing OE /y/ and the absence of diphthongs developed from OE /ag, og/. Both these features also appear in D and attested occurrences in the West Midlands region from the time when M was copied are almost nonexistent. The case of initial voicing is complicated. Some texts in the area where M is localised do have an initial *v/u* but the instances in M appear to be markedly more frequent, which raises the question whether initial voicing in M is at least partly due to exemplar influence.

Perhaps the most interesting but very weak piece of evidence with respect to M is the presence of two forms which appear to be characteristic of Kent, namely *diabe* (“death”) and *sigge* (“say”). Possibly, we may also include initial voicing here. If these features pointed to a common Kentish source for M and D, it would also have some implications for the latter.

Since *diabe* is not found in D, the supposition that the scribe of D was a Kentish “translator” would be undermined because it would seem unnatural for a scribe to delete features belonging to his own dialect. Such assumption must remain quite a weak hypothesis, unless more evidence is presented.

Based on the findings presented so far as well as results of previous studies, we may attempt to construct a tentative stemma showing the relations between TMD. There seem to be multiple possibilities, but the configuration which would incorporate all the discussed points including the hypothetical Kentish exemplar shared by DM could be the following:

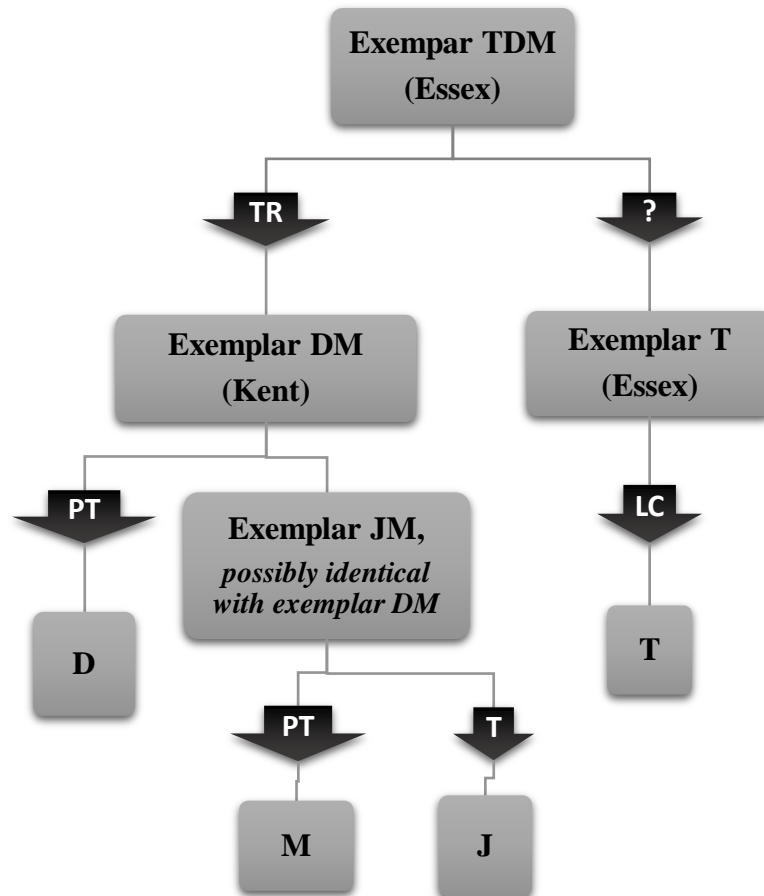


Figure 32: Tentative stemma; T = traslation, PT= partial translation, LC = literatim copying

The stemma shows versions DTM and J, which almost certainly had a source common with M. The arrows indicate the likely scribal strategies employed when copying the different versions. The requirement on the stemma was to include the extra layer of copying between D and T and a shared Kentish exemplar for DM. At the same time, this configuration would account for the similarities between TDM (coming from exemplar TDM), TD (coming from exemplar TDM), DM (coming from exemplar DM) as well as TM (coming from exemplar

TDM). This stemma is far from conclusive, since it is only partially based on solid evidence and does not very well account for the corresponding *u*-forms (for OE /y/) in M and T. Still, it could provide a working hypothesis for further research.

Generally speaking, the results mostly confirm the previous findings. The chief asset of the employed method seems to be the possibility to identify connections between different versions of a text which are undetectable by an analysis based on shared readings. Unfortunately, the data presented in this study is not yet sufficient to construct a solid stemma based on shared readings as well as dialectal features. Such a task would require that all the seven versions of the *Poema Morale* be analysed, improving on our knowledge of the scribal practices of the individual scribes where possible. The potential of the LAEME corpus for such a task is definitely far from fulfilled.

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7 Résumé

7.1 Úvod

Tato diplomová práce se zabývá jazykovým rozbořem jedné z verzí středoanglické veršovné homilie známé pod názvem *Poema Morale*, která je zajímavá tím, že se dochovala v sedmi opisech, což podstatně rozšiřuje možnosti výzkumu ve srovnání s texty dochovanými pouze v jediné verzi. Práce se zaměřuje na verzi D (obsažené v rukopise Oxford, Bodleian library, Digby 4) a cílem je ověřit lokalizaci textu v západním Kentu a objasnit vztah verze D ke dvěma dalším verzím stejného díla, konkrétně verzi T (Cambridge, Trinity College B.14.52) and M (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean 123). Obě tyto verze byly v předchozích studiích označeny za velmi blízké verzi D (Hall 1920 in Hill, 1977: 100). Nástrojem pro analýzu byl elektronický atlas ranně středověké angličtiny (Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English, dále LAEME). V podstatě se jedná o podrobně tagovaný korpus textů, který obsahuje údaje o jejich lokalizaci a umožňuje tvořit mapy (viz dále, sekce 3.1.1).

7.2 Teoretická část

Teoretická část práce pojednává o čtyřech základních tématech. Prvním z nich je širší historický kontext, především vysvětlení, jak vznikl pozoruhodný kontrast mezi *psanou* podobou jazyka na konci staroanglického období a na začátku období středoanglického. Předpokládá se, že dobytí Anglie Normany v roce 1066 a následný příchod francouzsky mluvících obyvatel měl zpočátku malý vliv na vývoj mluvené řeči, protože mluvčí francouzštiny byly příliš málo početní. Angličtina však ztratila svou pozici v oblasti administrativy, což vedlo k zániku staroanglické písařské tradice, víceméně jednotného systému zápisu jazyka i supraregionálního „standardu“ jazyka. V důsledku toho došlo k nebyvalému nářečnímu rozrůznění textů – opisovatelé používali své vlastní nářečí spíše než „nadanřeční standard“ a způsob zápisu jednotlivých zvuků byl navíc značně individuální. Vysoká míra diverzity na jednu stranu může poskytnout cenné lingvistické údaje, ale mnohdy nejasné vztahy mezi grafickými symboly a jejich pravděpodobným významem představují komplikovaný problém.

Druhým tématem je popis středověkých textů, které jsou úzce spojeny s tématem práce a byly využity při tvorbě metodologie. Nejvíce prostoru je přirozeně věnováno textu *Poema Morale*. Po stručné charakteristice obsahu díla následuje výčet všech sedmi dochovaných opisů, včetně jejich datace a lokalizace, je rozebrána datace a lokalizace původního textu (který se bohužel nedochoval) a vztahy mezi jednotlivými opisy popsány v předchozích studiích

a znázorněné stromovými diagramy (tzv. stemmaty). Verze D, M, T a L (v rukopise London, Lambeth Palace Library 487, který sdílí několik prozaických homilií s rukopisem Trinity) jsou rozebrány detailněji, jelikož jsou pro tuto studii nejpodstatnější.

Třetím teoretickým tématem je raně středověká angličtina, především její grafická a fonologická rovina a vztahy mezi nimi. Grafická stránka raně středověké angličtiny je v práci rozebrána formou popisu jednotlivých změn, které v daném období nastaly. Jedná se zejména o zastarávání některých symbolů nebo digrafů, zavádění nových a také o posuny významu některých znaků nebo jejich kombinací. Podstatnou roli zde sehráli normanští opisovatelé. Popis jednotlivých změn uvádí přibližná data, pokud jsou dostupná a dává příslušnou změnu do vztahu se zkoumaným textem. Fonologická stránka je popsána obdobným způsobem. Většina rozebraných procesů se týká změny kvality samohlásek.

Posledním tématem teoretické části práce je historická dialektologie. Pozornost je věnována především specifickým problémům této disciplíny (nedostatek dat, nejasné vztahy mezi psanou a mluvenou podobou jazyka, prolínání více jazykových vrstev v jednom textu). O posledním z problémů text pojednává rozsáhleji, jelikož téma je pro tuto studii klíčové. Nejpodstatnějším bodem v příslušné podkapitole je orientační popis základních opisovatelských strategií, které určují, nakolik se opisovatel drží předlohy a nakolik „překládá“ její jazyk do svého vlastního nářečí. „Doslovný“ opisovatel se označuje pojmem *literatim copyist* a „překládatel“ pojmem *translating scribe*. Rozlišuje se ještě třetí strategie – mixování – jejímž výsledkem je tzv. *missprache* (kombinace jazyka exempláře a jazyka opisovatele).

Práce dále zmiňuje některé obecné metodologické zásady dialektologie, z nichž se ta nejdůležitější týká výběru položek k analýze. Vhodnými položkami se jeví být takové lexikální jednotky, které se vyskytují pokud možno v co největším počtu zkoumaných textů a zároveň mají co nejvíce rozrůzněné formy. Kombinace těchto dvou kritérií se nazývá *discriminatory yield* (Laing & Lass, 2013: 1.4).

7.3 Data a metoda

První podkapitola metodologické části popisuje korpus LAEME, na němž je celá práce založena a druhá vysvětluje postup při analýze.

7.3.1 LAEME

LAEME není pouze lingvistickým atlasem, ale celým korpusem raně středověkých textů o velikosti ca. 650 000 tokenů. Vyznačuje se tím, že přepis se striktně drží původní podoby slov obsažené přímo v rukopisech. Struktura jednotlivých tagů zahrnuje tzv. *lexel*, neboli lexém

(používají se buď staroanglické varianty slov nebo současná angličtina), *grammel* (morfologickou značku) a konkrétní formu, které se fyzicky vyskytuje přímo v rukopise.

Drtivá většina textů v LAEME byla lokalizována metodou zvanou *fit technique*. Princip spočívá v umístění textů, u nichž máme údaje o tom, kde vznikly (tzv. *anchor texts*, „kotevní texty“), na mapu a následné lokalizaci ostatních textů na základě podobnosti s *anchor texts*.

Korpus umožňuje vyhledávání na základě lexému, morfologické informace, formy nebo kombinace všech tří polí. Výsledek vyhledávání lze zobrazit na mapě (mapa ukáže umístění všech textů, v nichž se vyhledávané slovo vyskytuje).

7.3.2 Metoda

Úvodem je třeba podotknout, že při analýze se pracovalo s kopií korpusu LAEME na místním serveru (tedy dostupnou pouze z jednoho počítače), a to v rozhraní, které zahrnuje některé funkce, jež na veřejné webové stránce nejsou dostupné (veškeré skripty navíc byly napsány autorkou práce). Rozbor textu se skládá ze dvou základních částí – kratší analýzy grafické podoby D v porovnání s verzemi T, M a obsáhlejší analýzy vybraných lexémů z hlediska lokalizace a možného zdroje v předloze textu.

7.3.2.1 Analýza využitých znaků

Analýza grafického systému v D v porovnání s T a M spočívala v identifikaci znaků, nebo kombinací znaků, které se buď v jednom z porovnávaných textů vyskytují nápadně častěji než ve druhém a nebo se v obou textech vyskytují velmi vzácně a stejný foném se většinou zapisuje jinak. Základem pro porovnání byl automaticky vygenerovaný seznam znaků použitých v jednotlivých textech.

7.3.2.2 Hlavní část analýzy

Rozbor verze D, jemuž se věnuje analytická kapitola studie, se zaměřuje na identifikaci nářečních variant a zároveň hledání slov, která byla pravděpodobně opsána z předlohy. Splnění vytčených cílů do značné míry záviselo na výběru vhodných jednotek k analýze. Základem pro výběr bylo v podstatě porovnání verze D s několika dalšími, předem vybranými texty. Konkrétně se jednalo o verze M a T textu *Poema Morale*, oba texty, které jsou společně s verzí D lokalizovány v Kentu (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc 471, entry 2 a London, British Library, Arundel 57) a text *Vices and Virtues* lokalizovaný v Essexu, tj. mezi verzemi D a T (London, British Library, Stowe 34, entries 1,2). Kritérii pro výběr byly výskyt lexému v 45 nebo více textech, přítomnost v D a alespoň třech dalších z předem vybraných textů a odlišnost

forem v D od některého z dalších textů. Dostatečně frekventované lexémy byla vybrány automaticky a následné porovnání forem v jednotlivých relevantních rukopisech probíhalo manuálně.

Vybrané lexémy byly roztrženy do kategorií podle toho, kterou jazykovou změnu popsanou v teoretické části reprezentují a jednotlivé kategorie byly následně analyzovány. Lexémy, které nebylo možné nikam zařadit, byly roztrženy podle toho, ve kterých z verzí D, T a M se vyskytují. Analýza každé kategorie se skládala ze zkoumání map zobrazujících výskyt jednotlivých forem v kategorii (např. forma *s u* vs. forma *s e u* slov, které jsou ve staré angličtině doložena s *y*) a identifikace forem, jež D sdílí a) s kentskými texty, b) verzí T, c) verzí M.

7.4 Analytická kapitola

7.4.1 Analýza znaků v D a TM

Porovnání ortografické stránky verze D s verzemi T a M umožnilo popsat některé konkrétní rozdíly v inventáři použitých znaků a následně je zobecnit. Nejpočetnější skupina rozdílů mezi D a T se týkala znaků, které se objevují v T, ale nikoliv v D, konkrétně *w* (8), *æ* (6), *j* (2), *y* (1), *ff* (1) a *th* (3). Jak ukazují údaje o frekvenci, ve všech případech šlo o občasné využití znaků, které opisovatel jinak běžně nepoužívá. Opačný vzorec, tj. znaky s nízkou frekvencí v D, které se neobjevují v T, se vyskytl pouze u *mm* (1) a *cch* (7). Další výraznější rozdíly souvisely s odlišným fonologickým vývojem frikativ, který se v grafické rovině projevil výrazně vyšší frekvencí *v* ve verzi D a naopak vyšší frekvencí *f* ve verzi T. V obecnější rovině lze říci, že pokud jde o grafický systém, oba texty jsou si poměrně blízké, ale D se zdá být celkově konzistentnější.

Rozdíly mezi D a M byly poněkud odlišného charakteru a víceméně odrážejí předpokládaný vývoj středoanglické abecedy. Opisovatel verze M systematicky používal relativně novější znaky *y* (40) a *ȝ* (195), zatímco ve verzi D najdeme starší varianty *i* a *ȝ*. V D se naproti tomu hojně vyskytuje *ð*, zatímco v M se místo něj všude užívá *p*. Další rozdíly se týkají už pouze výrazně odlišné frekvence některých znaků, konkrétně jednoznačně častějšího a širšího využití *v* ve verzi D a vyšší četnosti *sc* a *eo* v M. Rozdíly mezi D a M se tedy jeví jako systematictější v porovnání s D a T.

7.4.2 Hlavní část analýzy

Metodou popsanou v podkapitole 7.3.2.2 bylo vybráno přibližně 200 položek k analýze. Jejich roztržením podle jazykových změn vzniklo celkem 12 kategorií. Nejčastěji se

vyskytoval vývoj staroanglického /æ, æ:/, změna znělosti frikativ na začátku slova a dále vývoj staroanglického /ɑ:/. Následující odstavce uvádějí přehled nejdůležitějších výsledků, k nimž se u jednotlivých kategorií dospělo.

V případě vývoje staroanglického /æ, æ:/ lze říci, že v D jednoznačně převažuje varianta /e/ psaná jako *e*. Tento rys odpovídá dosavadní lokalizaci textu a D sdílí velkou část příslušných forem alespoň s jedním ze dvou kentských rukopisů a také s verzí M, což rovněž odpovídá její lokalizaci. Verze T naopak téměř výhradně používá *a*.

Pokud jde o znělost frikativ v počáteční pozici (viz analýza, sekce 4.2.2), znělá varianta *v* je velmi výrazným rysem D. Znělé varianty se v této verzi vyskytují v míře, která v žádné z ostatních verzí *Poema Morale* nemá obdoby. Jediným srovnatelným textem v celém korpusu je zřejmě kentský rukopis Arundel 57, kde se vedle *v* vyskytuje i konzistentní *z*. Tyto výsledky lze považovat za důkaz ve prospěch současné lokalizace D v LAEME. K podobnosti D s verzemi T a M lze říci, že T má pouze neznělé varianty, zatímco v M má poměrně vysoký podíl znělých, ačkoliv se vyskytují méně často než v D. Přestože verze M je lokalizována v oblasti, kde by se znělé varianty vyskytovat měly, jejich frekvence v M nápadně převyšuje frekvenci u ostatních textů ze stejné doby a stejné oblasti, proto se nabízí otázka, zda lze jejich výskyt alespoň částečně připsat vlivu předlohy.

Zápis *a* ve slovech s původním staroanglickým /ɑ:/: se v D vyskytuje zřídka, většina lexémů již má novější jižní variantu /ɔ:/, psanou jako *o*. Pozoruhodný v tomto případě je jistý rozpor mezi relativně inovativnímu užívání *o* v lexémech, u nichž to v ostatních soudobých textech není příliš obvyklé a naproti tomu zachování *a* ve slově „strong“, které se v celém korpusu (včetně verzí T a M) vyskytuje téměř výhradně s *o*.

Další zkoumanou změnou byla elize a naopak hyperkorektní užívání *h* na začátku slov. První případ (elize) se ve výzkumném vzorku nevyskytl, ale užití *h* ve slovech, kde k tomu z etymologického hlediska není důvod, se ve verzi D vyskytuje celkem osmkrát, přičemž pouze dva z těchto případů najdeme v dalších verzích textu, a to ještě v odlišných pasážích (jeden v L a jeden v E). Bohužel je téměř nemožné určit, zda se *h* vyskytovalo již v předloze verze D a jeho přítomnost je tak obtížně vysvětlitelná.

Vývoj staroanglické dvojhlásky /e:ɔ/, či spíše jejího zápisu, představuje jednu ze zajímavějších kategorií. Nejčastější variantou ve verzi D je *ie*, původní *eo* se vyskytuje pouze pětkrát, a to v různých lexémech, a údaje v korpusu nasvědčují tomu, že varianty s *eo* byly opsány z předlohy. Nejzajímavějším zjištěním potom je, že žádná z těchto variant se nevyskytuje v T, což neodpovídá hypotéze, že oba texty byly opsány ze stejného exempláře.

Podobný vzorec (starší forma se vyskytuje v D, ale nikoliv v T) se objevuje také u některých lexémů, v nichž se ve staré angličtině vyskytovala dvojhláska /e:a/. Dalším důležitým zjištěním v případě vývoje /e:a/ je přítomnost typicky kentské varianty *ia* ve verzi D. Ačkoliv používání *ia* zdaleka není systematické, podporuje současnou lokalizaci D. Těžko se naopak vysvětlují výskyty *e* v lexémech s *ea*, jelikož stejné varianty v Kentu vůbec nalezeny nebyly.

Vývoj staroanglického /y, y:/ by měl být v Kentu v době vzniku D již dávno ukončen a formy v textu tomu odpovídají. Opisovatel velmi systematicky používá *e*, jedinou nalezenou výjimkou je jeden výskyt „since“ psaného jako *sipen*, což je v jižnějších oblastech relativně vzácná forma a pravděpodobně pochází z předlohy. T i M se od D liší tím, že se v obou vyskytují varianty s *u* (v M ve větší míře). Nejpřekvapivějším objevem v této kategorii je relativně vysoký podíl *e* ve verzi M, který příliš neodpovídá současné lokalizaci. Tento vzorec připomíná již zmíněný vysoký podíl znělých variant *v*. Užívání *e* namísto /y, y:/ i sonorizace frikativ jsou typické pro jižní texty.

Výsledky v ostatních (málo početných) kategoriích, tj. *elize* /l/ v blízkosti / \widehat{tj} / (4.2.6) a vznik dvojhlásek /au, ou/ (4.2.11) jsou relativně méně zajímavé a tento přehled je neuvádí. Několik nezařazených tvarů společných verzím TDM nebo D a jedné z verzí DM bylo rovněž zahrnuto do analýzy. Výsledky v některých případech nasvědčovaly příbuznosti těchto textů.

7.5 Závěry

V závěru práce jsou shrnuty konkrétní výsledky týkající se lokalizace verze D a jejího vztahu ke zbývajícím verzím a na základě těchto výsledků jsou formulovány dvě základní hypotézy popisující vztah D k TM a sestaven předběžný diagram ukazující možné souvislosti mezi těmito verzemi.

Pokud jde o lokalizaci D v Kentu, bylo identifikováno několik prvků typických pro místní nářečí, konkrétně varianta *e* pro staroanglické *æ*, sonorizace frikativ v počáteční pozici, varianta *ia* za staroanglické *ea*, tvar *sigge* („say“) a některé tvary zájmen. Tvary odporující lokalizaci v Kentu byly poměrně vzácné.

Dále byly nalezeny různé tvary nasvědčující příbuznosti TDM. V této oblasti byla učiněna dvě zajímavá zjištění, z nichž jedno se týká vztahu TD a druhé vztahu DM. Při zkoumání podobností TD byl objeven následující opakující se vzorec: Ve verzi D se vyskytuje tvar, který byl s vysokou pravděpodobností opsán z předlohy, ale T již má odpovídající novější variantu, což neodpovídá poměrně dobře podložené hypotéze, že opisovatel verze T přepsal text

doslovně. Na základě těchto výsledků byl zformulován předpoklad, že mezi společným zdrojem verzí DT a verzí T byla ještě jedna vrstva opisování.

Hledání jazykových aspektů, které má D společné s M vedlo k popisu několika konkrétních podobností. Jednalo se především o variantu *e* za staroanglické *æ*, sonorizaci frikativ, absenci diftongů /au, ou/ a variantu *e* za staroanglické /y/ (v M smíšenou s *u*). Poslední dva ze zmíněných prvků příliš neodpovídají lokalizaci M v LAEME. V souvislosti s tím se jako zajímavé jeví některé další tvary izolovaných lexémů, které se zdají být typické spíše pro jihovýchodní regiony než pro Gloucestershire, kde je verze M lokalizována, zejména „death“ začínající na *dia-*, což je tvar typicky kentský, dále *sigge* („say“) nebo některé tvary zájmen.

Na základě těchto zjištění byla formulována předběžná hypotéza předpokládající společnou předlohu pro DM psanou kentským dialektem. Možnost, že opisovatel verze D přímo nemluvil kentským nářečím, ale toto nářečí mu bylo blízké, by zároveň vysvětlila okrajové tvary v D, které nejsou typické přímo pro Kent.

Použitá metoda se ukázala jako vhodné doplnění analýzy kopií soustředící se pouze na obsahovou stránku, jelikož umožňuje popsat vztahy mezi jednotlivými verzemi podrobněji. Hlubší objasnění vztahů mezi opisy textu *Poema Morale* by vyžadovalo pracovat se všemi sedmi verzemi najednou. LAEME se jeví jako vhodný nástroj pro takový rozbor.

8 Appendices

8.1 Literal Substitution Sets

The following table presents all the LSSs used for the analysis of spelling. Source: Fisiak (1986: 16-22)

Potestas	Litterae
i	i, y, u,
o	ue, oe, o, u,
e	e,
a	a, æ, e, ea,
o	o,
u	u, v, o,
y	u,
i:	i, ii, ij, y, ey, ei, i-e,
e:	e, eo, oe, ue, o, eu, u, ee, ei,
ε:	ea, æ, e, ee, e-e,
a:	a, aa, ai, ay,
ɔ:	a, oa, o,
o	o, oo, ou, oe, o-e,
u:	u, uw, ow, ou, ov,
ø:	eo, oe, o, ue, u, eu, o-e, u-e,
y:	y, u, ui, uy, y-e,
ə	e,
aj	æi, ei, ey, e3, a3, æ3, ai, ay,
aw	au, aw,
ow	au, aw, ow, ou,
iw	iw, eow, uw, eu, ew, u, w, iw, iu, yw, ui, u-e,
ew	eouw, eow, uw, eaw, ew, eu,
oj	oi, oy,
uj	oi, oy, ui,
p	p, pp,
t	tt,
c	c, ch, cch, eu, ew, u, w, iw, iu, yw, ui, u-e,
k	c, k, q, kk, ck, cu,
b	b, bb,
d	dd,
d3	gg, g, ng, i, j, dg,
g	g, 3, gu, gg,
f	f, ff, ph, ff,
v	f, u, fu, v,
θ	þ, ð, th, þþ, thþ,
ð	þ, ð, th,
s	ss,
z	s, 3, z,
f	s, sh, sch, ss, sc, ssh, ssch,

x	h, ʒ, g, ʒh, gh, ch,
ʍ	wh, w, quh, qu, qw,
m	m, mm,
n	n, nn, ng,
l	l, ll,
r	r, rr,
w	u, w, ʋ, v,
j	ʒ, g, y, yh,
h	h,
m	m, mm,
n	n, nn, ng,
l	l, ll,

Table 3: Literal Substitution Sets

8.2 Spellings in DTM

The table below shows the results of the automatic search employed in the analysis of spellings.

D		T		M	
i	988	i	1002	i	817
u	415	y	1	y	40
ue	125	u	443	u	488
oe	1	ue	118	ue	147
o	786	oe	1	o	680
e	2175	o	709	e	1939
a	646	e	2278	a	775
ea	39	a	987	v	24
v	109	ea	51	ey	2
ii	1	v	4	ei	14
ei	19	ii	1	eo	55
eo	6	ei	40	eu	90
eu	88	eo	5	ai	33
ai	47	eu	70	ay	3
ou	15	ai	56	ou	19
ui	6	ou	3	ui	19
au	22	ow	2	au	21
iu	23	ui	3	w	4
p	221	au	16	iu	15
tt	4	aw	2	p	221
c	271	ew	1	pp	1
ch	148	w	9	tt	3
cch	7	iu	10	c	315
k	59	p	221	ch	148
q	6	tt	1	cch	7
cu	7	c	270	k	59
b	268	ch	163	q	8
bb	36	k	49	cu	32

dd	12	q	9	b	231
gg	10	cu	22	bb	34
g	156	b	286	dd	12
ng	62	bb	38	gg	11
gu	4	dd	17	g	152
f	158	gg	7	ng	48
fu	5	g	171	gu	11
þ	461	ng	63	f	183
ð	266	j	2	fu	8
ss	31	gu	11	þ	638
s	735	f	328	ð	2
sh	2	ff	1	þþ	2
sch	1	fu	17	ss	32
sc	20	þ	426	s	654
h	704	ð	312	sh	2
qu	6	th	3	sch	1
m	567	ss	52	sc	92
mm	1	s	747	h	584
n	999	sh	1	qu	8
nn	77	sch	1	m	525
l	617	sc	3	mm	2
ll	93	h	749	n	624
r	662	qu	9	nn	47
rr	4	m	592	l	575
		n	1056	ll	81
		nn	51	r	596
		l	691	rr	7
		ll	103	yh	2
		r	675	3	125
		rr	4		
		ea	6		

Table 4: Spellings in DTM

8.3 Research sample

The following table provides the complete list of examined lexems and forms. Forms are given in the form of the regular expressions used in the searches. The column *Texts* contains the “code” indicating in which of the pre-selected texts the form in question appears.

The list of characters standing for the individual pre-selected texts:

- **A** = Arundel 57
- **K** = Laud Misc 471

- **t** = *Trinity Homilies*, hand A
- **V** = Vitellius 184
- **X** and **S** = Stowe 34
- **G** = Bodley 186
- **The remaining characters (TLDEeMJ)** stand for the individual MSs of the *Poema Morale*

	Lexeme	Grammel	Form	Texts	Category
1	worse		[wWU]ERSE	TDS _t	ý
2	buy	vi%	%BE%	DGA	y
3	cy:Yan		%[KC]E%	TDS	y
4	fire		%ER%	DSXKA	y
5	guilt		GELT%	DSA	y
6	kin		KENNES?	TDMSXAt	y
7	sin		SE%	TDMSXKt	y
8	since		SE%	TDJSXGt	y
9	since		SI%	DMSXt	y
10	spring	n%	%RI%	eEDS	y
11	spring	n%	%RE%	TDMSt	y
12	before%		B_F%	TLeEDJMSXGt	voicing
13	before_*		BI[VU]OREN?	DJM	voicing
14	fair		[UV]%	DMKA	voicing
15	fall		[UV]%	DGA	voicing
16	fandian		[UV]%	DA	voicing
17	faran		[UV]%	DJMA	voicing
18	fast		[UV]%	DMKA	voicing
19	-fast		-?[UV]%	DJMA	voicing
20	father		[UV]%	DJMGA	voicing
21	fela		[UV]%	eEDJMA	voicing
22	fela		F%	TLeEDJMSXKGt	voicing
23	find		F%	TLeEDJMSXKGt	voicing
24	find		[UV]%	DJA	voicing
25	fire		[UV]%	DKA	voicing
26	-fold		-?F%	TLeEDJMSGt	voicing
27	folk		[UV]%	DJMA	voicing
28	follow		F%	TLeEJMSXKt	voicing
29	for		[UV]%	DJMA	voicing
30	forbid		[UV]%	DA	voicing
31	forgive		%[gGY]EU%	LDJA _t	voicing
32	forgive		[UV]%	DMA	voicing
33	forgive		%[gGY][IY]EU%	Tt	voicing
34	forlose		[UV]%	DMA	voicing
35	forth		[UV]%	DMA	voicing
36	friend		FRENDE?	TEDMSGt	voicing
37	from		F%	TLeEDJMSXKGVt	voicing
38	from		[UV]%	DMGA	voicing

39	-ful	F%	TEDJSXGAt	voicing
40	-ful	[UV]%	DKA	voicing
41	full	F%	TLeEDJSXGVt	voicing
42	sin	SENNE[SN]?	TDMSXKt	voicing
43	sister	SUSTER	TLeEDJMSX	voicing
44	some	SUME?	TLeEDJMSXt	voicing
45	son	SUNE?	TLeEDMSXKt	voicing
46	song	SONGE?	TEDJMG	voicing
47	such	S[wWU]ICHE?	eDMK	voicing
48	sun	SUN?NE	TeEDJMSKt	voicing
49	sweet	S[wWU]ETE	TLeEDJMSXGt	voicing
50	1000	%[yd]US%	TeEDSXt	spelling - U/OU
51	down	DUN	TLeEDJMt	spelling - U/OU
52	go	GO%	TEJMSXKGt	spelling - U/OU
53	ground	[gG]RUNDE?	TLeEDJMV	spelling - U/OU
54	now	NU[yd]E	TLeEDJMt	spelling - U/OU
55	out	[UV]T	DJMSt	spelling - U/OU
56	out-?	H?UT-?	TLeEDMSXt	spelling - U/OU
57	proud	PRUDE	TDJ	spelling - U/OU
58	shroud	SS?C?H?RU%	TeEDMSGt	spelling - U/OU
59	100	%HUNDRED%	TeEDJMt	spelling - u/o
60	both	BO[yd(TH)]%	TEDJMSt	spelling - u/o
61	bu:tan	BO%	DGA	spelling - u/o
62	come	COME?_?	TLeEDJMSXKGAt	spelling - u/o
63	door	DURE?	TLeEDJXt	spelling - u/o
64	enough	[IY]NO[z(g?H)]	TDMA	spelling - u/o
65	le:ogan	vS% LU%	TLeEDMS	spelling - u/o
66	may	MU[gzJ]EN?	TLeEDMSXt	spelling - u/o
67	much	MUCH?EL%	TLeEDJMSXGVt	spelling - u/o
68	pound	PUNDE?	TLeEDJM	spelling - u/o
69	shall	vps% SS?C?H?ULLE%	TEDJMKt	spelling - u/o
70	tongue	TUN[gG]E?	TeEDJXKt	spelling - u/o
71	under%	[UV]N%	TLeEDJMSXKGAt	spelling - u/o
72	understand	[UV]ND%	TLeEJMSXKGAt	spelling - u/o
73	wunian	[wWU]UNIE	TeED	spelling - u/o
74	young	[gYJz]U%	TLeEDMSGt	spelling - u/o
75	elder	%R[IE]N?%		RE/ER
76	hunger	%RE%		RE/ER
77	never	%[VFU]RE%		RE/ER
78	old	%R[IE]N?%		RE/ER
79	young	%RE%		RE/ER
80	draw	%[OA][gGz]%		og/ag

81	fowl	%[OU][gGz]%		og/ag
82	ma:ge	%[OA][gGz]%		og/ag
83	own	%[OA][gGz]%		og/ag
84	each	%L%	TLeEJSXt	l-dropping
85	each	%[^L][KC]%	TLeEDJMSVAt	l-dropping
86	evereach	%L%	eES	l-dropping
87	evereach	%[^L][KC]%	TeEDJMSXKA	l-dropping
88	such	%L%	TLeESXt	l-dropping
89	which	%[^L][KC]%	LDJMXKA	l-dropping
90	which	%L%	TLeESXt	l-dropping
91	be-	BI%		i/e
92	before%	BI%	TLeEDJMKGt	i/e
93	beginnan	BI[gG]%	TLeDJMGt	i/e
94	beha:tan	BIH_T%	TLDJMSGt	i/e
95	beha:tan	BI%		i/e
96	beniman	BINIME_?	TLDMGt	i/e
97	bethink	BI-?y%	TLeEDJM	i/e
98	bring	BRIN[gG]E?	TeEDJMSGt	i/e
99	-ig	[IY]E%	LeEDJMSXGAt	i/e
100	say	SIGGE_?	DMXKG	i/e
101	since	S[IY][dy]%	eEDMSXt	i/e
102	why	H[WwU]I	TLEDJSt	i/e
103	Yyncan	[dy]ENCH?E_?	DS	i/e
104	gift	[GgY]IE[UV]E	TD	forms with IE
105	hear	[IY]?H[IY]ER%	DSXA	forms with IE
106	here	%H[IY]ERE?	DSXA	forms with IE
107	hope	HOP[IY]E_?	TeEDSXXK	forms with IE
108	a:gan	H%	D	ex crescent H
109	ae:ht	H%	DS	ex crescent H
110	eat	H%	D	ex crescent H
111	ge-	H%	DK	ex crescent H
112	ield	H%	LD	ex crescent H
113	out-?	H%	D	ex crescent H
114	own	H%	EDV	ex crescent H
115	un-	H%	D	ex crescent H
116	dear	D[IY]E%	TDA	éo
117	deer	D[IY]E%	TDSX	éo
118	devil	DEO%	eEDJ	éo
119	devil	D[IY]E%	DSXKA	éo
120	dre:ogan	%R[IY]E%	TDt	éo
121	fiend	FEO%	eEDJ	éo
122	fiend	%[IY]E%	TDA	éo
123	forbid	%B[IY]ET%	DSKA	éo
124	glee	%[IY]E%	TD	éo
125	le:of aj%	%L[IY]E%	TeDSSt	éo
126	le:of	%L[IY]E%	TeDSXt	éo

127	see	[IY]SEO%	DJM	éo
128	see	%S[IY]E%	TDSXAt	éo
129	swe:ora	%[IY]E%	TD	éo
130	thief	%[IY]E%	TDSXA	éo
131	Ye:oster	%[IY]E%	DXA	éo
132	%flee	%[IY]E%	LDt	eo
133	be	[IY]?B[IY]E_?	TDSXKA	eo
134	be	BE[dy]	TEDMSXGt	eo
135	earl	EO%	eEDJ	eo
136	geornan	%[IY]E%	DSAt	eo
137	give	[GgY]EUE_?	TLDJKVA	eo
138	heart	H[IY]ERTE_?	TDSX	eo
139	new	N[IY]E[WUw]%	D	eo
140	sick	%S[IY]E%	D	eo
141	star	STERRE%	DMKGA	eo
142	work	npl_* [wWU]ORKES	DMXA	eo
143	work	[wWU]ER[CK]%	TLEDJSXKVt	eo
144	world	[wWU]ERLDES?	D	eo
145	also	ALS[wWU]O	DSAt	elision of W
146	as	ALS[wWU]O	DMSAt	elision of W
147	how	HU	LeEDJMSXKG	elision of W
148	whoso	%S[wWU]%	D	elision of W
149	bread	_*EA_*	TDSXA	éa
150	bread	_*BRED_*	LEDJMXGt	éa
151	e:adig	_*EA_*	TDSX	éa
152	e:aYe	_*EA_*	TeDt	éa
153	few	_*[IY]A_*	D	éa
154	-less	_*LES_*	LEDJMGt	éa
155	-less	LEAS%	TDSXt	éa
156	stream	_*EA_*	TDS	éa
157	death	DE[yd]	LEDJMGt	ea
158	death	_*DE[ydD]_*	LEDJMGt	ea
159	death	DEA[yd]E?	TLeEDSXt	ea
160	eye	_*EA_*	D	ea
161	few	_*EA_*	TeDSXKA	ea
162	-fold	-?_EAL%	TeDSt	ea
163	high	_*EA_*	eD	ea
164	hold	_*[IY]E_*	TDMSAt	ea
165	hold	_*[IY]A_*	DKA	ea
166	hold	_*EA_*	TeEDSXAt	ea
167	old	EA?LD%	TeEDJMSXGt	ea
168	old	_*ALD_*	TLeEDSXAt	ea
169	old	_*ELD_*	TeEDJMSXG	ea
170	sceaft	_*EA_*	eD	ea
171	shame	%[IY]E%	TEDM	ea
172	smart	SMERTE?	EDM	ea

173	tear		TERE%	TeEDJ	ea
174	tell		[IY]?TEAL%	TDt	ea
175	wealdan		_*[IY]A_*	D	ea
176	wealdan		_*EA_*	TeEDS	ea
177	year		[gGY]IERE?	TD	ea
178	sorrow		SOR[zg]E	LeEDM	e
179	burn		BR%	D	D only
180	dead		DEA%	TDSXAt	D only
181	if		EF	D	D only
182	strength		STR_NH%	D	D only
183	teach	vpt%	T_[yd]%	D	D only
184	what		H[WwU]I	D	D only
185	deal		DE%	eEDMSAt	æ:
186	deed		DE%	LeEDJMKAAt	æ:
187	e:ce		E%	eEDJSAAt	æ:
188	either		AI%	DSt	æ:
189	either		E%		æ:
190	ever		E%	LeEDJMSXGAt	æ:
191	evereach		E%	eEDMKA	æ:
192	evermore		E%	LeEDJMSA	æ:
193	hae:lu		HA%	TS	æ:
194	hae:lu		HE%	LeEDJMt	æ:
195	hest		HE%	TLeEDJMGAAt	æ:
196	lae:tan	vps%	LE%	eEDJMAAt	æ:
197	lead		LE%	LeEDJMSGAt	æ:
198	less		LE%	LeEDMSAt	æ:
199	teach	vi%	TE%	eEDJMA	æ:
200	there		[yd]ER%	LeEDJSKGAt	æ:
201	though		[dy]E%	TLeEDJMSXGt	æ:
202	after		E%	LeEDKA	æ
203	angel		E%	LeEDJt	æ
204	any		E%	LeEJGVA	æ
205	any		A%	TLEDMSXVt	æ
206	be	vpt_*	[wWU]E%	LeEDJMSKGAt	æ
207	benot		NE%	TeEDJMGAAt	æ
208	break	vS%	BRE%	LeDJA	æ
209	burn	vps%	BR?E%	LEDJMAAt	æ
210	day		DE%	LeDK	æ
211	day		DA%		æ
212	eat		H?E%	LeEDMSAt	æ
213	ere		ER%	LEDJMGAAt	æ
214	last		[IY]?LE%	LeEDJMAAt	æ
215	lay	vps%	LE%	TeEDJM	æ
216	most		ME%	LeEDJMSGAt	æ
217	rae:d		RE%	LeEDJMAAt	æ
218	rae:dan		RE%	LeEDJMGA	æ

219	read		RE%	LeEDJMKGA _t	æ
220	say	vpt%	SE%	LeEDJMSKG _t	æ
221	shall	vps%	SS?C?H?A%	TLeEDJMSXKG _t	æ
222	shall		SS?C?H?E%	eEDMA	æ
223	sit	vS%	SET%	DG	æ
224	that		[dy]E%	eDKA	æ
225	water		[wWU]E%	LeDA	æ
226	water		[wWU]A%		æ
227	way		[wWU]E%	TLeEDJMSXK _t	æ
228	wendan		[wWU]E%	TLeEDJMSKG _t	æ
229	what		H?[WwU]H?A%	TLeEDJMSXKG _t	æ
230	what		H?[WwU]H?E%	LeEDKA	æ
231	where		H?[WwU]H?AR%		æ
232	where		H?[WwU]H?ER%	LDJXKG _t	æ
233	2		T[wUW]O	TEDJMSG _t	a:
234	2		T[wUW]A%	TLeEDJMSXA	a:
235	ha:tan%	vps%	HOT%	DKA	a:
236	hand		HOND%	TLEDJMKGV _t	a:
237	in({_})?		ON	TLeEDJMSXKGV _t	a:
238	loth		LO[dy]E	TEDJM _t	a:
239	nomore		NON?-?MOR%	TEDA	a:
240	nomore		NAmMOR%	DMA	a:
241	not		NA%	TLeEDMSXKA _t	a:
242	not		NO%	TLEDJSXKG _t	a:
243	strong		STRA%	eDA _t	a:
244	know	v[(ps)i]%	[IY]?[KC]NO%	TDJMSG _t	a
245	know		%[KC]NA%		a
246	know		%[KC]NO%		a
247	nothing		NO%		a
248	nothing		NO[dy]-?[IY]NG	EDJMA	a
249	on{t}		ON	TeEDJX _t	a
250	own		O%	TEDJMKGA _t	a
251	soul		_A[UwW]%	LeDJMSXKVA	a
252	thank%		[dy]A%		a
253	thank%		[dy]O%	LEDMG _t	a
254	woe		[wWU]O	TEDJMG _t	a
255	blow		BLO[WwU]%	TEDJMG	?
256	hang		HON%	DJMA	?
257	mankind		MANKENNE	TDM _t	?
258	1	qc-k	A-?	TeED	?
259	7		SE[VU]E%	TDMSG _t	?
260	above		B[VU][VU]EN	TLeEDJ _t	?
261	as		%S[wWU]O%	TDMSV _t	?
262	better		BET	TLeEDJMSA	?
263	bliss%		BLI[(SC)(SC?H)(SS)]E%	DK	?
264	can	vps1%	[KC]AN%	TeEDMA _t	?

265	can	vps%	[KC]UN%		?
266	choose		[IY][KC]ORENE?N?	TLDJMS	?
267	dryhten		DRI[H(CH)(gH)]T%	TLeEDJSt	?
268	forbid		%BET%	TEMSXt	?
269	lay	vp%	[IY]?LE [IY]%	TLeEDMS	?
270	le:ogan		%L[IY]E%	TDJA	?
271	le:ogan	vS%	LU[gGz]EN?	TLeEDMS	?
272	licgan		L[IY]GGE%	eEDGA	?
273	love	n%	LOUE%	DMGA	?
274	-ly		L%K%R%	TLEDJSXAt	?
275	-ly		L[IY]CH?E%	TLeEDJMSXKGVAt	?
276	-ly	xs-av-cpv	LAK%R%	DA	?
277	-ly		LU%K%	TLeEJt	?
278	-ly		LA%K%	DA	?
279	not		%[wWU][IY]%		?
280	other		O[dy]RE	EDMSXKGA	?
281	other		[dy]O[dy]RE	TLD	?
282	rue		RU%	eED	?
283	so		SE	TeEDS	?
284	star		STE%	eEDJMKGA	?
285	what		H[WwU]AM	LDSA	?
286	while		[dy]E-H[wWU]ILE	TLeEDJM	?
287	yet		[Jzg]IET	TDSX	?
288	Yurfan		DARF	DMG	?
289		vps23-bpn	E[dy]	LeDJMSXG	?
290		vps13\[K\]	d	TeEDSXt	?
291		RTApl	[dy]~	LeDJM	?
292		viK2	[IY]EN	TLeEDJSXGVt	?
293		vps13\[L\]	d	eEDSXt	?
294		P23N	HI	LeEDJMSKGA	?
295		P13_*	HI	TLeEDJMKA	?
296		P22Oi	[Jgz]EU	DSV	?
297		P23G	H[IY]RE	DKA	?
298		TOd	[dy]O	DSXK	?
299		TN	SE	TeDSXKV	?
300		TplN	[dy]O	EDSKt	?
301		TplOd	[dy]O	TEDSXKVA	?
302		TN	SI	DK	?

Table 5: Research sample

8.4 Notes on regular expressions

The following table presents an overview of the employed regular expressions:

expression	meaning	Sample matches
%	Matches a sequence of 0-infinite number of characters	%EO% matches BEO, SEON, FREOND etc.

[]	Matches any character in the brackets	[UV]UR matches VUR or UUR
_	Matches any character	_UR matches FUR, VUR, UUR etc.
?	Matches zero or one occurrence of the previous character	I?BEO matches BEO or IBEO

Table 6: Regular expressions 1

Because of the highly variable medieval spelling, some expressions were used regularly to cover the whole range of possible spellings. These include:

RegExp	matches
[VU]	Standing for the interchangeable characters <i>v</i> and <i>u</i>
[wWU]	Standing for wynn, <i>w</i> or <i>u</i>
[IY]	Making no distinction between <i>i</i> and <i>y</i>
[KC]	Making no distinction between <i>k</i> and <i>c</i>
[yd]	Making no distinction between <i>þ</i> and <i>ð</i>
[gG]	Making no distinction between <i>g</i> and <i>ǥ</i>

Table 7: Regular expressions 2

8.5 Additional searches - queries

The queries for additional searches were designed to find as many potentially useful items belonging to a specific category as possible.

The mechanism is to first select lexemes, which have a specific feature anywhere in the corpus and subsequently return only those which can be found in version D (or D and other specific texts).

The first sample query below shows a possible way of identifying lexemes in D which had /æ/ in OE. The SELECT clause (line 4 of the query) identifies all lexemes with at least one form having the æ. Line 2 restricts the results to lexemes appearing in D (ID=8). The second query uses the same mechanism to find lexemes which sometimes contain the spelling *eo*.

```

1 SELECT lexe1, count(lexe1),array_agg(form), array_agg(text) FROM LAEME_CORPUS
2 WHERE text IN (8)
3 AND lexe1 IN
4 (SELECT lexe1 FROM LAEME_CORPUS WHERE form SIMILAR TO '%æ%' GROUP BY lexe1)
5 GROUP BY lexe1 ORDER BY count DESC
```

```

1 SELECT lexe1, count(lexe1),array_agg(form), array_agg(text) FROM LAEME_CORPUS
2 WHERE text IN (8,4,10)
3 AND lexe1 IN
4 (SELECT lexe1 FROM LAEME_CORPUS WHERE form SIMILAR TO '%EO%' GROUP BY lexe1)
5 GROUP BY lexe1 ORDER BY count DESC
```

8.6 LAEME alternative interface

The screenshot below shows the interface used in this research.

The screenshot displays the LAEME alternative interface, which is divided into several functional areas:

- Search form:** Located at the top left, it includes input fields for 'level:', 'grammel:', 'form:', 'group', and 'pattern', along with 'search' and 'save' buttons.
- Forms in selected text:** A yellow box at the top right highlights the section showing search results for the selected text, listing forms like `LES(xs-aj): 2`, `-LES(xs-ajOd): 1`, etc.
- Filters:** A yellow box on the left side highlights the 'Filters' section, which includes checkboxes for various categories like 'PM Trinity', 'PM Digby 4', 'PM M', 'Essex 64', 'Essex 65', 'Laud', 'Bodley', 'Vitellius', 'Arundel', and 'Trinity B'.
- Map:** A yellow box on the right side highlights the 'Map' section, which displays a map of the British Isles with red dots indicating the locations of the texts.
- List of saved searches:** A yellow box at the bottom left highlights the 'List of saved searches' section, which contains a table of saved searches.
- Filter for displaying texts from selected period:** A yellow box at the bottom right highlights the 'Filter for displaying texts from selected period' section, which includes checkboxes for various periods like 'C13b', 'C14a', 'C13', 'C13a', 'C12b', and 'C14'.

No	level	grammel	form	Cat.
1	fold		-?_EAL%	é
2	less		LEAS%	é
3	less		*LES_*	é
4	bread		*BRED_*	é
5	bread		*EA_*	é
6	bread		*EA_*	é
7	death		*DE[ydD]_*	é
8	death		DE[yd]	é
9	death		DEA[rvd]FE?	é
10	eadig			

Figure 33: LAEME alternative interface